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ABSTRACT

This publication consists of the proceedings of a workshop on the social, cultural, and economic experiences of Blacks. The workshops' goals were to intensify the interest of social workers in the Black experience; to examine the values which have an impact on services to Black people; to increase the knowledge of social workers about Blacks; and to explore various dimensions of Black family life. Nine papers are presented: 1) The Role of Language (Communication) in Black-White Relations (Stanley H. Smith); 2) The Dynamics of Public Policy: Pacification and the Maintenance of Black Enclaves in America (LaVerne McCummings); 3) Child Rearing in the Black Community: Social, Cultural and Economic Considerations (Lou M. Beasley); 4)The Afro-American Experience: Another Conceptual Perspective for Professional Practice (Edyth L. Ross); 5) The Black Experience in Education: The Case of Testing (Howard F. Taylor); 6) Black Families in the 1970's (Robert B. Hill); 7) The Black Experience in Politics (Howard N. Lee); 8) Black Family Life and Life Styles (Harriet Peat Trader); and 9) The Health Status of Black Americans (Lawrence E. Gary). Footnotes and bibliographies are included. (CG)

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THE BLACK EXPERIENCE: SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

The Proceedings of the First Workshop
on the Black Experience

Edited and Introduced by
Audreye E. Johnson
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THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT CHAPEL HILL

THE BLACK EXPERIENCE: SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

The Proceedings of the First Workshop on the Black Experience

Edited by Audreye E. Johnson

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FOREWORD

The excellent papers which constitute this document were presented at the 1980 Black Experience Workshop. They superbly address the 1980 workshop theme, The Black Experience: Social, Cultural and Economic Considerations.

The University at Chapel Hill and its School of Social Work were delighted to have sponsored here the gathering of a truly outstanding array of social work scholars, teachers, practitioners, and students, whose professional dedication made the exchange of views and discussion of experiences so beneficial.

The 1980 workshop spawned a new awareness of problems peculiar to Black people not only in North Carolina but throughout the country. It presented research findings on the Black Experience and its impact on programs which prepare persons for careers in social work. These findings enhance the knowledge of social work educators and practitioners about the needs of Black people.

During the Workshop the diversity of the Black Experience, and the need to consider it when providing human services, received special attention. We at Chapel Hill have a responsibility to see that all of our programs are kept relevant and responsive to the needs of those who pursue them and, also, to the needs of those who will eventually be served by our graduates. Since the faculty and students of the School of Social Work have derived much value from the information presented in the papers which constitute this document, I am glad that it is being made available to a wider audience.

J. C. Morrow
Provost

PREFACE

This publication is of the proceedings from the first Black Experience Workshop: The Black Experience: Social, Cultural and Economic Considerations. The workshop is scheduled during the spring Semester by the School of Social Work at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The impetus for this information exchange came from the then Dean of the School, Morton I. Teicher. A forum to interact with leading Black Scholars from across the nation provides the mutual expression of ideas and data from the attendees and contributors, who came from various parts of the country.

The spontaneous reaction from these who attended served to lay the foundation for institutionalizing the workshop, and created the demand for the publication of the proceedings. A program such as this required the attention and support of many people within the School and the University community. This interdependent endeavor culminated in the workshop on March 14, 1980 in the Carolina Student Union on campus. The resources of the School were made available by Dean Teicher which enhanced the contributions of faculty and staff, who gave freely of their time and energy. Moreover, we were most fortunate to receive ongoing support from Dr. J. Charles Morrow, Provost, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Mr. Carl W. Smith, Assistant to the Provost.

The continuous support of Dean Teicher and the support of faculty and staff were of great assistance. Their efforts enhanced the work of the planning committee which spent many long hours in deliberation and coordination of the workshop. A special note of thanks to the committee members must be made: Ms. Ann Davis, Lecturer; Mr. Albert W. King, Assistant Professor; Ms. Barbara Ludwig, Division of Continuing Education; Mrs. Sarah H. Smith, Lecturer; Dr. Richard H. Uhlig, Associate Dean; and Mrs. Helen Berry, Student.

Finally, I must express appreciation for the roots of my own Black experience which provided me with the sustenance to move beyond my loss. In memory of my mother, whose death came on the eve of the workshop, I am thankful and proud of the legacy she left behind. This will enable the second Black Experience Workshop to be something keenly anticipated.

Audreye E. Johnson

INTRODUCTION

To know a people, to work with them and to serve them, one must understand their culture, their adaptive and non-adaptive behavior patterns, their sense of self and their peoplehood. For the more than 400 years that Blacks have been in this country this understanding has been denied of them as a group. This deficiency has had negative ramifications not only for Blacks but for non-Blacks as well. Unfortunately, the role which has been associated with Blacks in America has been that of slave; which has been a one dimensional view. The role of Blacks has been varied as they have populated the entire country. Moreover, they have been impacted by their different roles and have had what can be termed the Black experience.

Just as the roles which Blacks have played have been different, explorers, indentured servants, freemen and slaves, rich and poor with a variety of hues, so, too, have been the resultant experiences which they have lived. The common denominator for Blacks has been racism which has more than colored their lives but fashioned it. The Black experience has been diverse, but unique to Blacks. Thus, the Black experience has been shaped by racism, and their coping mechanisms have ever had to be alert to the pitfalls of racism present in a hostile society.

With knowledge that the so-called gains made by Blacks through the enactment of Civil Rights legislation in the 60s has not yet provided full equality and participation in this society, The Black Experience: Social, Cultural and Economic Considerations workshop was planned and implemented. Foremost was the desire to provide a knowledge base which could provide the means of impacting thinking about and serving Blacks. The direction was toward enhancing the knowledge of social work educators and social work practitioners and other human service personnel about the needs of Black people. The notion was that increased knowledge would improve social work practice with Black people, and improve the social work educational programs which prepare students for such practice. To do this noted Black educators and practioners were brought together to share their ideas with workshop participants about the Black experience. The workshop goals were:

> To intensify the interest of social work practitioners and social work educators in the Black experience.

To examine the values which have an impact on services to Black people.

To increase the knowledge of social work practitioners and social work educators about Black people.

To explore such dimensions of Black family life as socio-economic status, family composition, social class, cultural factors, etc.

The array of workshops took into view the composite makeup of Blacks; their African, European and American heritage. Color, of course, is the obvious determinant of the African heritage which is easily recognized and usually denigrated. Language is an important tool in communication as ideas about people are shared. Stanley H. Smith lays the foundation for understanding the negative connotations which have been associated with black as a color and with Black as a people. It is known that people respond and behave in relation to the concept they have of themselves and that which others have of them. The negativeness of Blacks has thus had to be overcome by Blacks and dealt with in a positive manner.

The contributors have taken the positive view while looking closely at the negatives which have been thrust upon Blacks. Moreover, they have recognized that the Black experience of racism is something which colors every facet of Black life which must be addressed as Blacks move to forge ahead and continue their creative ability to mold their world and their life as worthwhile entities. Harriet P. Trader looks at the family life of young Black drug users and the supports which they derive from their associations as family members. This kinship bond moves on with Lou M. Beasley as she notes that the socialization of children is impacted by a number of variables which are within and outside of the Black community.

That Blacks have dealt for many years with human service delivery, before the term social work was invented, is put forth forcefully by Edyth L. Ross. And, that these efforts have had to be done in the face of stiff opposition of the policies of the country are noted by LeVerne McCummings. That policies determine the relationships between people is shown in the manner that McCummings relates the oppression of the Black enclaves in the society. In sickness or in health, Lawrence E. Gary reports on the health status and care of Blacks and the meaning that this has for survival.

The economic plight of Blacks is reviewed with candor by Robert B. Hill. He notes not only the gap which exists between Blacks and Whites in their economic base, but also calls attention to the need for change in the technological framework of employment and the economy. That Blacks can aspire to different heights, and can attain success in the face of constant opposition is demonstrated by Howard N. Lee as he details the political process of the Black experience. The struggle, however, that remains for Blacks to move forward is embedded in the educational system and its tracking view of Blacks as pointed out by Howard F. Taylor. He notes with caution the need to be vigilant in educating the Black child, and shows the systematic undermining of humaneness of Blacks through the I.Q. measurements being touted.

The workshop dealt with a number of cogent issues related to the Black experience. It obviously could not address all of them in so short a time frame. That this workshop was done by the School of Social Work, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill was significant in that there was recognition of a need for North Carolinians and others to face up to the problems of race relations which have not yet been solved. People who talk together are least likely to misunderstand and hate together. Thus, the workshop on March 14, 1980 became a first for dialogue but will not be the last.

Audreye E. Johnson, Associate Professor
Chairperson, Black Experience Workshop Committee

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The Role of Language (Communication) In Black-White Relations

Stanley H. Smith

Introduction

The importance of language is epitomized vividly in the famous dialogue between Alice and Humpty Dumpty in Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass about word usage. In reacting to Alice's statement that she does not know what is meant by "glory," Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously.

> 'Of course you don't till I tell you. I meant "there's a nice knock-down argument for you!"
>
> 'But "glory" doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument,'" Alice objected.
>
> 'When I use a word, 'Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone 'it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less.'
>
> 'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things.'
>
> 'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master - that's all.'[1]

Language and the use of words play a very important role in the socialization process, in the development of the self and self-concept and in personality development. It, therefore, affects the behavior of the individual and the nature of intergroup and intragroup behavior. As a consequence, the nature of interracial relations cannot be adequately determined without taking language and social interaction into consideration.

Language, therefore, plays an important function not only in communication and the transmission of culture but even more importantly, in shaping cognition by transforming, according to Adam Schaff, ". . . the chaos which we call the world, into an

ordered product. Language becomes the maker of the only world that is accessible to us and this is the world constructed by language."[2] Sotomayor cuts through to the core of the problem about the role of language in intergroup relations in stating that:

> It is quite possible for two linguistic groups to arrive at two different perceptions and a different organization of reality as the implicit expectations of our own language, with its self-contained system of meaning, are projected into the field of experience as conceptual system that foresees all possible experience.[3]

Of crucial importance also is the social function of language in determining superordination and subordination in intergroup and interracial relations with rights, duties and obligations expressed linguistically as deference, cordiality, reverence, sexual distance, affection, emotional independence, oppression, dominance, etc.[4] The observation is cogent, therefore, that social mobility of a low status linguistic group can increase if there is improvement in utilizing the language skills of the higher status group.

The written word has been a factor in shaping inter-group and inter-personal relations. As indicated in the writings of the Bible, the works of Chaucer, Milton, Shakespeare, Hawthorne, Poe and Melville, there is a certain fixation with the color symbolisms of White and Black in Western Civilization.

Shakespeare on Blacks

The works of William Shakespeare are especially replete with denigrating references to Blacks, thereby indicating, because of the time frame of Shakespeare's writings from 1587 to 1613, that anti-Black feelings were institutionalized in Europe before the first White settlers arrived in the United States. In Titus Andronicus, Shakespeare's first tragedy, the villain, Aaron was portrayed as a Black "Moor" who had fathered a child out of wedlock with Tamora, the beautiful White empress. When Aaron inquired about the child's sex from the nurse, the reply was that it is ". . . a devil--a joyless, dismal, [B]lack and sorrowful issue--as loathsome as a toad amongst the fairest breeders of our clime." Aaron who became enraged at the nurse's racist response, shouted "Zounds, ye whore! Is [B]lack so base a hue? Affirmative answer to that was again supplied by Shakespeare

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when the king in Love's Labour's Lost stated that "Black is the badge of Hell, the hue of the dungeons and the suit of night." Macbeth also, in raging at his servant shouted, ". . . the devil damn thee [B]lack."

Othello might be considered the best evidence of racial feelings in Europe. It is replete with negative expressions about Blacks. Iago, in speaking about Othello and Desdemona, makes the following remarks:

> Even now, now, very now, an old black ram
> Is rupping your white ewe. Arise, arise!
> Awake the snorting citizens with the bell
> Or else the devil will make a grandsire of you.

Almost as a form of self-hate, Othello makes the following appraisal of himself in evaluating his worthiness for the affection of Desmonda:

> Haply, for I am Black
> And have not those soft parts of conversation
> That chamberers have, or, for I am declin'd
> Into the vale of years--yet that's not much--
> She's gone . . .

The order in which he listed his shortcomings is significant - Blackness, lack of polish, age. These are important rankings related to self worth.

Brabantio, Desdemona's father, could not believe that a maid ". . . so tender, fair and happy . . ." as his daughter could, unless through some witchcraft, be attracted to the Moor. He stated that:

> To incur a general mock
> Run from her guardage to the sooty
> bosom
> Of such a thing as thou.

Roderigo, another of the characters in the play calls Othello "the thick-lips" and refers to Desdemona going ". . . to the gross clasps of a lascivious Moor."

Iago, reflecting how emotional and jealous Blacks are and how difficult it is for him to reason cognitively, makes the following statements about Othello:

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The Moor is of a free and open nature
That thinks men honest that but seem
to be so
And will as tenderly be led by the
nose
As asses are.

Another famous reference of Shakespeare about the negative aspects of Blackness concerns the Prince of Morocco in The Merchant of Venice. It is quite clear that Portia has no taste for the dusky complexion of her suitor, the prince. He, on the other hand, waxes apologetic for his dark complexion with the famous statement of ". . . mistake me not for my complexion . . ." Recognizing that, as a suitor to Portia, he is placed at a disadvantage by his color, he seemingly overreacts in speaking proudly of his dark skin and his military prowress.

Religion and Philosophy

The Judaic-Christian religion played an important role in the anti-Black attitudes which, as implied, was prominent in the 15th and 16th century thinking of persons in Europe. It certainly gave some justification to the dualistic kind of thinking which gave symbolic significance to colors. White, in these terms, was used to express goodness, purity, cleanliness and Black was associated with sin, evil and dirt.

As a result of the history and origin of Christianity, implicit and explicit racist beliefs occupied an integral part of the Christian philosophy. The philosophies of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism greatly influenced the Christian philosophy. This was particularly true of the latter.

Zorastrianism reformed and influenced the religion of the ancient Iranians during the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. The basic emphasis here was on the dualistic philosophy which has become characteristic of Western Civilization with emphasis on the very clear distinction between good and evil and the association of evil and hell with "outer darkness." This association between goodness and light on the one hand and evil and darkness on the other hand, was even more clearly spelled out in Manichaeism. This was a dualistic religious philosophy advocated in the 3rd century A.D. primarily in Asia Minor. This dualism distinguished between spirit and matter and goodness and evil. These were diametrically opposed to each other. This philosophy then specifically refers to the Kingdom of Goodness

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or Light and the Kingdom of Darkness and Evil. The early Christian Fathers, especially St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.) used these analogies and concepts frequently in religious doctrines.

The above highlights the historical and institutionalized associations which Europeans have had with respect to color symbolisms, particularly those of dualistic significance to Western Civilization - White and Black. The conflicts between good and evil, Christ and Satan, beauty and ugliness, purity and impurity, cleanliness and dirtiness, lightness and darkness, are expressed in terms of White vis a vis Black. It is of significance that data from studies of the prejudiced personality tend to suggest that prejudiced persons think in rigid, dualistic categories.

It is, therefore, understandable that a group in the position to do so, would choose for itself the color White with all of its positive westernized connotations and denotations, in spite of the scientific and physical inaccuracies of this terminology. The designation of the term Black to another group could also be logically deduced within this dualistic framework.

Winthrop D. Jordan, further substantiated these noted observations by adequately documenting the sociohistorical roots of racism and the concomitant feelings of revulsion of Whites about Blacks as far back as Elizabethan days. He accounts for the association with beastliness and consequent inferiority. Jordan finds documentation from a wide reading of the Elizabethan literature that the writings of the 16th century regarded Black men as biologically close to the ape and, therefore, inferior. The clear implication here was that there was a relationship between racism and slavery with the former somewhat justifying the latter so that, although slavery was destroyed, racism remained and was preserved.[5]

The classic pronouncements of Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau were seemingly realistic reflections of the implicit and explicit values of Western Civilizations. These feelings have been further developed by writers such as Stuart Chamberlain, Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. The theory of de Gobineau continues to occupy a central place in the thought and behavior patterns of Western Civilization. Particularly is this so in the bi-racial societies of South Africa and the United States.

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These are the main elements of de Gobineau's theory.

1. Race is the primary determiner of differences among people. Differences in culture, in civilization, in contributions and accomplishments can be accounted for in terms of race.

2. Of the three races of man - White, Black and Yellow - the White race is superior to the others. The Black is characterized by emotionalism and the Yellow by mediocrity.

3. Racial purity is essential to the continued superiority of the White race. This is particularly true for the Aryan (Anglo-Saxon) branch of the White race which is the most nearly pure race and, as a result, best equipped due to its innate intelligence, to be dominant in the advancement of civilization.[6]

Current Scholars on Blacks

As already indicated, beliefs concerning the inferiority of Black people are somewhat inherent to and permeate the social structure of the United States. As a consequence, it is difficult for White behavioral scientists not to internalize these beliefs in the socialization process. Within this context, therefore, one can understand the prevalence of implicit assumptions about Black inferiority and Black Pathology affecting the findings, generalizations and the whole methodological procedure.

The transition from the passion orientation and affinity of the Black race and the relative absence of cognitive reasoning among them as implied by A. R. Jensen is a smooth and logical one. A reading of Jensen's writings on the hereditary aspects of racial differences in intelligence, leads to the conclusion that he was probably not consciously aware of the extent to which he was influenced by the racist beliefs of the society nor how institutionalized were these values and beliefs. Caught up in the cultural bias, Jensen gives a central position to the I.Q. test and argues that "Intelligence--is predominantly attributable to genetic differences, with environmental factors contributing a minor portion of the variance among individuals in I.Q."[7]

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It is clear from the above, that the I.Q. test according to Jensen is, indeed, a valid and reliable measure of intelligence resulting in an interchangeable use of the concept and the tool. Intelligence which is associated according to him with abstract reasoning and associative learning abilities is, therefore, accurately measured by I.Q. tests.

Of critical significance is the manner in which he shifted emphasis from concentration on individual differences to racial differences. This is done by a mystical, pseudo-scientific process. According to him:

> The fact that different racial groups in this country have widely separated geographic origins and have had quite different histories which have subjected them to different selective social and economic pressures make it highly likely that their gene pools differ from some genetically conditioned behavioral characteristics, including intelligence or abstract-reasoning ability. Nearly every anatomical, physiological and biochemical system investigated shows racial differences. Why should the brain be the exception.[8]

Jensen again demonstrates his expertise in mental gymnastics. He takes socio-environmental factors into consideration but only to the extent to which these factors account for racial differences and the extent to which these differences affect the growth and development of the brain. He builds his whole theory of racial intelligence on the basis of the structure and function of the brain and their relationship to learning that scientists are still investigating. He asserts with authority that White and Black children differ in their learning abilities. Blacks resort to associative or rote learning while Whites take on the conceptually derived abstract reasoning approach.[9] The implication here is that these two kinds of reasoning exist as distinct entities and that the presence of one indicates the absence of the other.

There is, moreover, the inference that the highest form of the evolutionary development of man is the ability to reason abstractly and to conceptualize. This is found among Whites and absent among Blacks, thereby, providing the latter's nearness to the ape. This is the epitome of the folk beliefs of Western Civilization.

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Of overriding significance in the evaluation of Jensen's works is his reliance on the findings of Cyril Burt of England. Recent evidence strongly suggests that these findings were faked.

One of the major errors made by Jensen is somewhat typical of an error made frequently by behavioral scientists. That is the tendency to measure socio-economic status and/or social class of Blacks in the same way that the socio-economic status of Whites is measured. The dimensional levels are not the same. On the one hand, Whites experiencing fluidity of mobility will normally move up into a middle class status system with fully entrenched generational expectations. Blacks on the other hand have not experienced a long history of middle class involvement. The experiences, therefore, are significantly different and will be reflected in I.Q. test performances. When one goes through the methodological motion of equating for socio-economic status, the question is raised as to whether one is operating from a total configurational approach. The consistency with which these I.Q. test scores are different should suggest the possibility of real social-psychological differences. However, this is a difficult process when one explicitly or implicitly assumes racial inferiority.

Poverty, racism and other kinds of deprivation exert a great impact on the socialization process and personality development. These relate very specifically to motivation, achievement and learning.

The monumental study of Coleman[10] has significant implications for the whole question of motivation, learning and academic achievement. It points out that children from minority groups are the equivalent of one to two years behind Whites in achievement at the first grade level. The gap widens until they are three to five years behind at the 12th grade level. This study de-emphasizes the impact of school facilities, curriculum and staff on achievement. Of the school factors, teachers' characteristics are more important than any other. These characteristics include educational attainment of teachers' mothers, educational attainment of teacher, years of teaching experience and the teacher vocabulary test scores.

Family background is more relevantly related to academic achievement in early years. Pupils' achievement is strongly related to the educational background and aspirations of the other students in the school -- the composition of the study body and the nature of the student culture. In other words, it is

important that students who are disadvantaged attend schools with peers who are socio-economically advantaged and whose parents are more interested in school success. This is the kind of student culture that will most likely demonstrate a prevalence of the skills of interpersonal competence.

Of paramount importance and significance is the finding that the attitudes of students toward themselves -- their self-concept -- have stronger relationships to achievement than student-body composition, curriculum, teachers and facilities. According to the study:

> A pupil's attitude factor which appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the "school" factors together, is the extent to which an individual feels that he has some control over his own destiny . . . the responses of pupils . . . have far less conviction than [W]hites that they can affect their own environments and futures. When they do, however, their achievement is higher than that of [W]hites who lack that conviction.[11]

This assessment has taken the position that the history of Western Civilization is an important factor in determining the whole approach to the measurement of and the need for this measurement of intelligence. It was both implied and explicitly stated that the values and beliefs about Black people have permeated the very fabric of the American society. It has highlighted the need to demonstrate racial differences with clear inferences about the inferiority of Black people. Behavioral scientists have become involved in the same problems as those which concerned non-behavioral scientists. In their research, these behavioral scientists have endeavored to mirror the prejudices and biases of the culture and have consciously or unconsciously set out to give support to these beliefs.

The repressive atmosphere, which is supportive of the above beliefs, expose Black persons to differential experiences, yet, does not consider those experiences as operative within the framework of the disadvantages encountered. Racism, poverty, hunger, lack of stimulating experiences, low self-concept and other life circumstances consistently affect behavior and the subjective predisposition to behave.

Because of these unique experiences, it might be well for one to examine the possibilities of a consistently different thought pattern or a different form of abstract reasoning. If this is so then, it will be difficult to measure this particular thought process or abstract reasoning by the traditional measuring instruments. The critical concern, therefore, may not be the identification of significantly lower I.Q. scores among Black people, but a failure to measure a different pattern of intelligence. This position takes into consideration the virtual impossibility of surviving in a hostile environment without the existence of intelligence at a high level.

If there is agreement on the pluralistic nature of the American society, then different dimensional levels of experience should be measured. It is seemingly impossible to equate those experiences to the point that they have meaningful comparability. Until the American society becomes an assimilated open society, it will be difficult to get complete answers to the question of racial differences in intelligence.

A strong line of anti-Black prejudices have been noted from Elizabethan writers Shakesphere through Gobineau to Fitzhugh, and twentieth century scholars, i.e., McGurk, Shockley, Shuey and Jensen. There is evident overreacting to and overemphasizing of the significance of racial superiority and inferiority, and the singling out of I.Q. performances as demonstrable evidences of this phenomenon.

Recently, William Shockley and three other Nobel Laureates donated their sperm to be given to childless married women who wanted to bear "little Laureates" and thereby increase the intelligent and gifted pool at the top of the population as opposed to the "genetically disadvantaged at the bottom." The editorial of The Nation cogently observed that:

> If Dr. Shockley seriously meant to advance his theories about the genetic causes of poor educational performance, he should have specified that his surrogate offspring be gestated and raised by a welfare mother with an absent husband who lives in a poverty ghetto. Dr. Shockley and his fellow superstuds should help the genetically neediest cases.[12]

Discussion

The critical concern, therefore, is to place appropriate emphasis on humanistic values and to strive towards the attainment of a quality of life without racial and class barriers. Additionally, there must be an interest in equity to insure the development of all human beings to their fullest potential. In such a society, the research questions pertaining to intelligence and I.Q. tests will become primarily academic.

Not having reached this higher level of people interaction it is not surprising that we continue to struggle with lauguage, communication and word definitions. This is highlighted by Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary which gives the following negative connotations and denotations to the word Black and words with Black as a prefix or as an adjective:

1. Black - soiled, dirty, thoroughly evil, wicked, expressive of condemnation or discredit; invoking the supernatural and especially the devil; gloomy, calamitous, marked specifically by the occurrence of disaster; sullen, hostile

2. Black act - magic practiced by conjurers and witches

3. Black-ball - an adverse vote especially against admitting someone to membership in an organization; ostracize, boycott

4. Blackbook - a book containing a black list which is a list of persons who are disapproved of or are to be punished or boycotted

5. Blacken - defame, sullen

6. Blackguard - a rude or unscrupulous person, a scoundrel; one who uses foul or abusive language; to behave in a ruffianly manner

7. Black-leg - a professional gambler

8. Black look - angry, discontented, sullen, discourteous

9. Black magic - witchcraft

10. Blackmail - extortion by threats especially of public exposure

11. Black market - illicit trade in goods in violation of official regulation

12. Black sheep - a discreditable member of a respectable group

13. A black lie - much more serious than a white lie

These words and phrases are counter-productive to the positive connotation and denotation that the Black Power Movement of the middle 1960's gave to the word and concept of Black. Whereas the Black Power Movement has positively affected Black self-concept and given Blacks a feeling of togetherness, some conflicts and ambivalent feelings will continue to prevail until these racist words and concepts are stricken from the vocabulary of the English speaking world.

Negative definitions of Blacks have affected Whites, in their socialization process. Whites have internalized non-positive feelings about Blacks and tend to categorize them as a group and Black individuals in terms of their membership in that group, as deviant and pathological.

Moynihan reflected the thinking of the average White American when he classified Black families as "disorganized," "deteriorating," or caught up in a "tangle of pathology."[13] The statistical evidence given to support such conclusions usually refers to "promiscuity," "illegitimacy," desertion and divorce and, as a consequence, the number of Blacks receiving public welfare.

It is of significance that these words have middle class meanings and do not accurately reflect or describe the behavior and the beliefs of Black persons. For example, children born out of wedlock are accepted with less stigma and incorporated into the maternal household and loved and cared for.

In spite of the universality of suffering among Blacks, they do not consitute a homogeneous socio-cultural group. Only approximately 25% of the Black population can be found among the middle class, with the majority occupying a low socio-economic position with at least three major subgroups--the working non-poor, the working poor and the underclass.

The working poor, consituting a sizeable proportion of the Black population, is headed by men who work hard and steadily

but for low wages, thereby, making it difficult for them to rise above the poverty line. Most of these manage to exist without accepting welfare.

The Civil Rights Movement failed to impact positively on the non-working poor or the underclass, who constitute between 15 to 20% of the Black population. These are the persons who are not accurately reflected in the unemployment statistics of Blacks because they have, for the most part, given up on the socio-economic system and are no longer looking for work. These are the persons, therefore, who are dependent largely on public welfare.

It is a fact that the basic family type of Blacks is the nuclear family with parents and children living in the home and not the so called "broken families" according to the School of "Black Family Pathology."

Most behavioral scientists and helping professionals, have overemphasized the problems of Blacks and Black families and have paid very little attention to the strengths and resiliency of Blacks and their families. Among these strengths are:

1. Blacks have strong kinship bonds in the large proportion of intact nuclear families with approximately two-thirds of all Black families having both parents present. Most Black families, therefore, are stable families.

   Even among poor families, those headed by women are in the minority. Most Black low income families are cohesive with a history of caring for children.

2. Quite contrary to the charge that Blacks are too lazy to work, data show a strong work orientation. For example, poor Black people are more likely to be gainfully employed than poor White people.

3. Studies also show that husband-wife relationships in most Black families tend to be equalitarian.[14]

Racist feelings about Blacks have become so highly institutionalized that persons in the American society, in the process of socialization, internalize these feelings of conventional racist wisdom and tend to relate to Blacks in terms of these beliefs. Their perceptions of Blacks are generally highly selective and they tend to fit them into rigid, stereotypic categories: Some of these perceptions are:

1. They do not speak like us.
2. They do not think like us.
3. They are childlike and animal-like.
4. They cannot conceptualize, think in abstract terms and rationally.
5. They tend to be emotional.
6. They are lazy, parasitic and criminally prone.
7. They are highly sexed, sexually uninhibited and immoral.

When people perceive and define social relations and social situations as real, they are real in their consequences. This means, more specifically, that if Blacks are defined as pathological, people will tend to and will actually behave towards them in accordance with how they define the social situation.

Whites, therefore, find it extremely difficult to relate to Blacks in ways other than paternalistic and condescending. As a consequence, the social interaction tends to be unilateral with Whites doing most of the talking and making most of the decisions. Whites tend to usurp positions of authority which are rightfully occupied by Blacks. They try in every way to "call the plays" for Blacks in these positions. Whites tend to and are encouraged to "go around" their Black supervisors to White persons occupying the next higher position in order to complain about their incompetencies. They, thereby, get around giving these Blacks the recognition and respect which go with their positions.

It is not uncommon for differential ratings to be given occupationally and educationally for similar performances solely because of race and color. The author has observed situations where Black graduate students have been given excellent ratings for their class performances with attempts made to lower the ratings when race has been ascertained. High school counselors throughout the United States are currently counseling high proportions of Black students away from taking college preparatory courses and towards the taking of obsolete vocational courses because the unilateral prejudical judgement is made that they do not have what it takes to succeed in college.

Conclusion

As the United States moves inexorably toward the post-Industrial society of the 21st century, its continued growth, development and progress will be contingent on how well it utilizes its human resources. This observation is particularly significant when the demographic picture already portrays a continuing decrease in the birth rate. A rigorous analysis will, therefore, have to be made of those basic values which have permeated the social structure of the United States. This is particularly true for those values and beliefs which have fostered the growth of institutional racism and have affected the nature of human and race relations. The future of world civilization and the United States in the 21st Century will be directly influenced by how these problems of human and race relations are solved.

It is quite clear that the nature of Black-White relations in the United States must not be left only to Whites. Every effort must be made to change negative to positive Black values which must then permeate and occupy integral positions in the basic social institutions of the Black community. This can be facilitated by expunging from the speaking vocabulary those words and phrases already put forth which tend to perpetuate anti-Black feelings and prejudices.

Blacks, too, will have to accept basic responsibility for changing the nature of these human relationships through the conscious and purposive utilization of the principles of community organization and community development. These principles can be of importance to social change and control. One of the fundamental aspects of community organization, in this context, is the nature of the relationship between the basic

social institutions and their social agencies. The ideal is that the basic social institutions such as the family, religious, political and economic organizations are related and interrelated with each other in such a way as to constitute a characteristic pattern. Basic social values of the community must premeate these social institutions and be supportive of and not be in conflict with each other. The many support systems now in existence in the Black community must be identified and utilized.

Within this context, community development is viewed as the mechanism for the achievement of community organization. The essence of this will revolve around social institutions and social values related and interrelated in such a manner that they are congruent, reinforcing and supportive. It also implies a methodology whereby the people, through the different social institutions, must develop some consensual awareness of their needs and problems; see how these problems relate to each other and to the community; establish priorities and accept basic responsibility through the principle of self-help for the solution and/or amelioration of these problems.

In the final analysis, community organization must, therefore, take into consideration the mechanism through which the people of the community as they interact with each other in the different social institutions and agencies, develop a meaningful consensus, a group solidarity, "peoplehood" and group cohesiveness. Black-White relationships will, as a consequence, be positively affected and the United States will be the primary beneficiary.

FOOTNOTES

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3. Marta Sotomayor, "Language, Culture and Ethnicity in Developing Self-Concept." Social Casework, 1977, p. 197.

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5. Winthrop D. Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes Toward The Negro 1550-1812. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1968.

6. Arthur De Gobineau, The Inequality of Human Races. New York: G. P. Puttnam's Sons, 1915.

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10. James Coleman, et. al., Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1966.

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13. Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action. Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1965.

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Summary Outline of The Role of Language (Communication) in Black-White Relations

Stanley H. Smith

I. The importance of language and words in human behavior--Through the Looking Glass by Lewis Carroll

II. The historical foundation of racism and related color symbolisms:

(a) Shakespeare's works (1587 - 1613), Titus Andronicus, Othello, Merchant of Venice.

(b) The religious influences of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism on the color symbolisms of the Judaic-Christian religion.

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(c) The doctrine of racism as expounded by Arthur de Gobineau and as currently articulated by A. R. Jensen and William Shockley.

III. The implications of the Coleman Report with its emphasis on peer group values and positive self-concept as these relate to learning.

IV. The negative connotations and denotations of black and blackness when used as a universe of discourse--black, black art, blackball, black book, blackguard, blackleg, black lie, black magic, blackmail, black market black sheep, black look.

V. Daniel Moynihan and the Behavioral Science School of Black Family Pathology.

VI. The strengths of the Black family:

(a) Strong kinship bonds;

(b) Strong work ethic;

(c) Relatively stable equalitarian family.

VII. The selective perceptions of the majority group as influenced by racial stereotypes and their impact on behavior towards Blacks.

VIII. The need for Blacks to determine their own destiny through community organization and community development.

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The Dynamics of Public Policy: Pacification and the Maintenance of Black Enclaves in America

LeVerne McCummings

> To be guided by social vision is not to deal in irrelevant 'speculation' or 'moralizing'. On the contrary, to have no social vision is to be at best, impractical, and at worst, in compliance with those who continue repression.
>
> . . . Roszak

Introduction

The human service professions have a very special role to play in making public policy positive in its response to all populations "at risk." However, in order to do so, human service educators, thinkers and policy analysts must develop a corrected vision about the realities of life as experienced by these populations and begin to operate from new descriptive and prescriptive variables which allow greater understanding around issues of public policy.

The purpose of this paper is to construct a beginning cognitive map for the understanding and delineation of the causes and consequences, as well as the dynamics and directions of public policies on Black life in America. Using the definition of public policy as articulated by Thomas Dye and the analytic models of Almond and Powell and Richard Burkey, this cognitive map is designed to respond to the highly significant questions of: What is Public Policy? What are its functions? Who are the major actors in the process and why do they act? What are the major overriding principles and philosophies which guide their actions? What are the consequences of their actions on varying populations?

Further clarity and an enhanced utility of this map is anticipated by virtue of the fact that it will venture into brief discussions of the importance of understanding the economic system of the society. Though historically and very obviously missing from the arsenal of analytical tools of the human service professional, knowledge of the economics of all public issues, evidenced through various economic principles and concepts underpinning public policy decisions must be a compelling future

objective. These concepts and principles are the bases for a capitalist society, and to ignore them is analagous to ignoring the well established philosophical and behavioral commitment of the society. Although not all of these concepts can be discussed in this presentation, consideration must be given to the redistribution, allocation and stabilization functions of public policy decision-making as well as the principle of maximum social gain.

Finally, after briefly analyzing the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) program for its harmful or helpful nature on Black enclaves, attempts will be made to set forth those imperatives which are absolutely essential beginnings for the education and actions for those who are serious about non-incremental positive social change for all people.

The prevailing assumption throughout this presentation is simply that any incorrect analysis of any situation can do no more than lead to incorrect conclusions.

Overview of the Problem

Black people in America have been the focus for innumerable improvement policies and programs for the past several generations. In fact, all levels of government, religious denominations, private concerns, and the inevitable spirited, concerned and dedicated citizens have repeatedly engaged in activities crucial to policy making, which according to their analysis, represented the absolute imperatives of "the Public Interest." Convinced of the rightness of their actions and motivated by intellect, vision and insights, there could be no doubt that both God and country were being served in the most appropriate fashion through these actions and activities. To be sure, benefits have been regularly and abundantly accorded to these historical proponents of "the Public Interest." Politically and economically they have continued to be rewarded for their activities and behavior even though such behavior and activity run counter to the survival of people of color and the poor. Black people in particular have watched in both surprise and outrage as well stated policies and programs have forcefully yet carefully and systematically orchestrated their energies toward dead-end approaches in matters pertaining to equal opportunity and other matters of community and self development. Fragmentation, confusion and the myth of participation in the

economic, political and social life of America appear to have been the norm for Black people and public policies have been implicated in assuring these facts of life.

A serious review of this phenomenon reveals several important factors. In a majority of cases, it is easy to demonstrate that specific goals of public policies and the subsequent programs and plans designed and funded to carry out those policies, have been external to the conscious will and propensity of the persons who are targeted. For example, the public policy goal of racial integration has proven impossible in this society partially because of the negative value which Whites have placed on the concept of Blackness as well as the importance which is accorded the concept of physical contact or proximity. Great measures have been undertaken in education, law, politics, religion and other areas of socialization to negate "Blackness" and promote the virtues of "Whiteness." One hundred and twenty-three (123) definitions of "Blackness" are recorded in the dictionaries and encyclopedias, and all of them except one give negative connotations.

Even with the advent of affirmative action policies, the capitalistic goals of economic advancement into the business and corporate world of high finance, property ownership and high salaries are almost unattainable by Blacks. Systems and schemes are designed, sanctioned and enforced which keep poor people and persons of color ignorant of the dynamics of the corporate enterprise, unable to secure legal advocacy and believing that they need specialized conditions in order to affirm their native talents for business and professional activities.

The supposed goal of brotherhood has failed partially because the major communication media, the advertisers, and the creators of educational materials consistently project the illusions that group advancement is the traditional and necessary method of attaining adequate individual opportunity in this society.

The educational system has operated on a dual-system basis through the years, with inadequate physical structures and inadequate financial appropriations going into the schools that served Black enclaves. Even now, in 1980, there exist many schools that remain all — or predominantly White, and all — or predominantly Black. There is often no Black representation on the boards of education, and district lines are drawn in such a

manner as to preclude this possibility. The ratio of Black teachers to White is much lower than the ratio of Blacks to Whites in the total population.

The strained relationship between Blacks and Whites has, by its very nature, provided interference in the emergence of any clearly-recognizable Black goal definitions or group coherence. Black organizations have been stifled, and the truly all-Black organizations throughout this country are practically non-existent.

Housing patterns in America are very supportive of the dynamics described above. A serious examination of the housing situation and patterns in America reveals some very interesting factors. That housing is of a very inferior quality for Blacks and the poor is very evident, but in addition to that, there is seemingly a deliberate attempt to keep this fact from ever being dealt with in ways that benefit "at risk" populations. The creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has brought little relief, and it can be clearly demonstrated that HUD's coming into existence to carry out a stated public policy of adequate and substantial housing has not in fact improved the housing situation for poor people. On the contrary, housing units available to the poor have steadily declined.

The above are but a few of the many contradictions evidenced in public policy which serve to maintain a need for these improvement activities in the various enclaves of our society. Although noble in rhetoric, public policy and program strategies are only positively valid where there is comparable serious effort to redirect the behavior of the obstructive, negative and repressive forces which are commanded by different segments, groups and institutions who allegedly operate in the public interest. It is well documented that Whites and varying religious and community groups have acted with unity against the welfare of Black and poor people of this country. Historically, for Blacks this is partially based upon the definition of their being classified as property. Although this definition has been modified legally and politically, there are few demonstrable honest efforts to indicate the removal of the "fact" that Blacks are still being considered chattel. Blacks and poor people have ceased being enslaved as individuals. However, as groups they are legally, geographically and psychologically projected as wards of the government, second class citizens, underprivileged,

and many other such categories assigned to them. It seems that these definitions are deeply ingrained in the minds of most Americans including many Blacks and poor people, and they, therefore, set the tone for some of our most important legislation and local ordinances regarding poor people, their aspirations and activities. These issues are pervasive in public policy formulation and ultimately responsible for the outcome of policies as they are experienced by Blacks and poor people of this society.

Defining Public Policy

Public policy presents itself as an issue which is greater than life. Our thoughts, behaviors, our being and indeed our very existence seem mysteriously shaped by forces emanating out of this "greater than life" phenomenon, to a former student its roots are much deeper, and its debut was heralded as far back as the creation story in Genesis. The creation of man and the alleged subsequent creation of woman from a rib from his side was policy making in its ultimate form, according to her. Though some may consider the creation example to be chauvinistic, the analysis drawn by this student is both sound and provocative. The example did not represent a personal statement of belief, nor was it presented to justify the alleged act. It was merely a descriptive analysis of the policy making process in a dynamic form. It is an indication of the long history attributable to this process, and represents this activity's importance long before the development of the sophisticated human society as we currently know it.

Dye provides a most useful definition of public policy, and his insightfulness sets in motion the inquiry necessary to a beginning understanding of how particular groups can be affected by actions considered to be in the public interest. Dye defines public policy by indicating that "Public policy is whatever government chooses to do or not to do."[1] The prescriptive utility of such a definition is that the student or analyst of public policy is immediately guided to a variety of observation points for analyzing policy making. The definition suggests that observation must be made of both overt and covert activities of government. Additionally, one must be alert to what is said, and not said, done and left undone, what is perceived to be valued as opposed to what is devalued and finally, to note with care the level of commitment and intensity by which goals stated, are actually operationalized.

Dye's further postulation on the policy analysis process provides an even greater opportunity for broadening and making comprehensive one's sophistication in this subject area. Here he notes that policy analysis involves ". . . finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes."[2]

In framing the dynamics of public policy one must be led to the point of developing or selecting that set of descriptive and prescriptive variables which will allow inquiry and knowledge building to occur. That knowledge should adequately explain the causes and consequences of government activities on varying populations of people. These variables, if they are to be useful, must at a minimal include economic, political and social principle, concepts and other factors which have always guided policy outcomes in America.

One other factor which must always be included is the variable of racism and its pervasiveness in policy making and the implementation process. The potency of such an analysis as suggested is both orderly, systematic and comprehensive, and both the reliability and generality of the knowledge developed allows one to know whether government actions are helping or hurting people and to what degree.

Analytic Models

Almond and Powell provide the first set of descriptive/prescriptive variables vital to an understanding of public policy on Black life in America. Here the analyst can be guided to a critical examination of the various actors who are responsible for the creation and implementation of the rules and regulations governing society as well as discerning the educational and socialization mechanisms employed to assure compliance. This model suggests that the behaviors and/or misbehaviors of 1) Interest Articulators, 2) Interest Aggregators, 3) Rule-Makers, 4) Rule Applicators, 5) Rule Adjudicators and 6) the dynamics employed in the communication system, can be instructive to any analyst desiring to understand the creation of the rules of society.[3] Aside from the five variables which can clearly be determined to represent actors, the sixth variable can be inferred to include any and all means of communication necessary for seeking adherence to the desires as set forth by the actor group.

If then Black people fail in their efforts to be members of the actor group, and fail in the efforts to control the means for

communicating forcefully, effectively and correctly, they have no choice but that of being subjected to those forces deemed necessary by the actors in control. Black enclaves continue to know failure in all areas described.

Burkey's Propositions

Burkey's work suggests several other guidelines and subvariables for consideration in determining the nature and extent of the differential treatment of racial groups through the use of public policy. His five general guidelines for initial analysis are: 1) Internal organization efficiency; 2) Research; 3) Enforcement; 4) Support and resistance, and 5) The comprehensiveness of the policy.[4] The subvariables associated with these guidelines, to facilitate a deeper analysis are: 1) cognitive clarity; 2) organizational resources and a rational utilization of them; 3) the degree of organizational autonomy, 4) verified knowledge about the social conditions to be addressed; 5) monitoring and evaluating the environment of focus; 6) effective utilization of resources for social change purposes; 7) sanctioning power and the utilization of enforcement mechanisms; 8) reliance on other than minority initiated actions; 9) governmental organizational involvement for purposes of exerting national power in investigations, issuing cease and desist orders, etc.; 10) enacting public policies which can clearly serve the self interest of the dominant community, and which can be achieved through the use of a different analysis of the full nature of the problem; 11) enforcing policies by providing minority organizations a power base, and finally, 12) discovering ways to dispel the existing racial prejudice among majority population.[5]

These propositions, guidelines and subvariables are not value neutral. They direct attention to what is said and what is actually done and how. Through the use of Burkey's propositions, the analyst is able to separate the rhetoric of equality, equal opportunity and economic sufficiency from the reality of their presence in Black enclaves. Without a doubt, the harmful and/or helpful nature of public policies can be accurately seen by those desiring to know the true nature of Black life.

The Function of Public Policy

Additional potency is realized when a critical examination of the functioning of public policy is included as a vital part of the previous discussion. Though often treated casually by the

social analyst, the redistribution, allocation and stabilization functions which are primary objectives of policy making, are issues of the first order.

In public policy's redistributive role, poverty and persons at the lower end of the economic well-being scale are supposed to be aided. The distribution of surplus food, welfare payments, public housing, medicare and education and training program are the performing vehicles for achieving this function.

In assessing the stabilization role, the appropriate rate of economic growth, price stability and maintaining high employment become objectives to be achieved through budget policy.

In public policy's allocation role, social goods become a part of budget policy alledgedly because they cannot be provided for through the market system, i.e. parks, roads, etc.

It is fair to indicate that any one of these three functions may be the major focus depending on the policy being analyzed. It is also fair to note that all three functions may be observed in a given policy. Nevertheless, whether operating together or alone, Black people have somehow sustained a high degree of suffering in spite of these functions, which raises questions about their true public interest utility.

Maximum Social Gain

The concept of maximum social gain as a unit of analysis for understanding Black life in America is crucial. Haveman notes the following:

> For each of the basic ways of disposing of government revenues - transfer and exhaustive expenditure - there is one question which is of paramount economic importance. Is the society better off because of tax-expenditure combination or is it not? Are the gains from the tax-spending transaction greater than the losses or are they not: The comparison implied by this question is a basic one and can be summarized in a general principle - the principle of maximum social gain:
>
> > The public sector, in undertaking any activity, should choose that alternative for which the gains to society exceed the

costs by the greater amount and should refrain from any activity if its benefits do not exceed the cost.[6]

There are, according to Haveman, minimum tests which any public sector activity must meet if it is to be considered in the public interest. The proposed activity must demonstrate prospective benefits exceeding the anticipated cost. Should an endeavor be undertaken by government ignoring this concept, it would be extracting higher value resources from the private sector for lower valued public sector uses - the costs would exceed the gains. A maximum test is also necessary in operationalizing this principle. It is imperative that the public decision maker in an effort to attain maximum social gain, present alternative ways of accomplishing the objective. The chosen route must maximize the excess of social gains over social costs.[7]

The benefits and costs of public decisions are of two basic types according to Haveman. These are: 1. efficiency benefits and costs, and; 2. income redistribution (equity) benefits and costs.[8] The efficiency benefits refer to the allocation of society's resources. If land, labor and capitol are efficiently allocated, then the test of efficiency is accomplished. On the other hand, the public sector also has the responsibility of achieving the income distribution most desired by society. Though the judgment about income is an ethical one, this concept hypothesized that resources going to some people are worth more to society than resources going to others. Even this brief and simplified explanation of these economic principles associated with decision making adds potency to the understanding of public policy relative to Black survival in America.

A Case in Point

The Comprehensive Employment Training Act of 1973 (CETA), is the case which will be used here to represent and illustrate public policy gone haywire. In an interim report to the Congress of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, an excellent historical background is provided for a clearer understanding of public service employment programs.[9] Beginning with the Works Project Administration (WPA) in 1935, the Roosevelt administration introduced this concept which is alleged to have responded to the needs of some three million people although there were over nine million people

unemployed. WPA was proceeded by: the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 (targeted to Appalachia), the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Public Work and Economic Development Act of 1965, and the Work Experience and Training Program subsequently changed to WIN in 1967; the Job Corp and the Neighborhood Youth Corp were both created out of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964, along with Operations Mainstream and the New Career Program.

Between 1969-73 several other employment programs came into being in response to rising unemployment and unrest among "at risk" populations. The CETA Act was passed in December, 1973, and took effect in July, 1974. It was hailed as a solution to the problems which had been experienced by other employment programs. It promised to provide Black and other minorities and/or disadvantaged populations a greater opportunity to gain job skills, decrease the level of unemployment, decentralizing and de-categorizing previous training and employment programs and provide poor people with greater economic and political opportunities in American life.

CETA like other preceding public service employment programs was presented and rationalized. Its objectives were said to be the following:

1. Job Creation to stimulate the economy, reduce employment in recession.

2. Service Provisions to supply additional services in the public sector.

3. Social Targeting to aid disadvantaged persons through employment.

4. Transition to relieve dependency through permanent employment.

5. Training to up-grade the skill level of the labor force through work experience.

6. Income Maintenance to redistribute income to needy families and individuals.

7. Economic Development to assist distressed areas.

8. Fiscal Relief to assist state and local governments.[10]

Emphasis in public service employment programs like CETA may very often appear to shift. At times a policy may appear to have an economic focus while at other times, an allocation or distribution focus. Whatever the focus, the overall function and related objectives of policy remain intact. This fact is both troublesome and often unbelievable for human service professionals. No matter how well-intentioned public policies may appear, sufficient evidence always appears to exist that clearly indicates that the primary concerns of policy-makers are related first to the issue of economic expediency.

Up to one hundred per cent displacement rates has been recorded in cities using CETA funds. This appears to be normal behavior. Through displacement, cities and states are allowed to manipulate and divert funds to special concern categories of their choosing. Displacement has occurred through 1) transfers, 2) rehirings, 3) contract reductions, and 4) potential hirings. Though clearly outside the stated purposes for the creation of this public policy, there seems to be sufficient support for this behavior to continue.

In using the Almond and Powell's analytical model to understand the failure of CETA in Black enclaves, one is drawn to the varying points where failure may be manifested. Most notable foci of concerns should be directed at the rule-makers, the rule applicators and adjudicators who are responsible for both the creation and implementation of this program.[11] It is also obvious that the messages communicated through various channels provided clear statements that indeed the diversion of resources is an acceptable method of operation.

Burkey's suggested scheme for determining discrimination in CETA is equally instructive. The enactment stands lacking in all areas described by him to be important if there is a real interest in addressing the conditions of Black life in positive ways.[12]

When analyzing the history of public service employment programs in society, attention is immediately drawn to the fact that they have often been instituted as a response to technological changes and changes in the economy. Primary concern is centered on retraining and finding new employment opportunities for displaced workers. Minor attention is given to depressed designated areas like Appalachia. These are called cyclical unemployment programs.

In cases where unemployment represents a chronic difficulty for people with limited education, skills and work experience,

(structural unemployment), public service employment programs are suppose to address that chronic condition. It is in this function that CETA has failed the test for Black people. It is extremely curious that funds alloted for this purpose could be so easily diverted to serve other bureaucratic desires of displacement as previously described. The chronic conditions of unemployment in Black enclaves remains chronic.

This program appears to have failed the test of maximum social gain in the above analysis as well as the other imperatives required of the policy decision maker. Policy makers, with a history of the knowledge of the failures of these types of programs did not choose alternatives which could maximize the excess of gains over the social costs.

Why They Do It

The preceeding case presentation is an example of what governments do. Within that discussion, some evidence was presented to indicate why governments do what they do, and what difference it seems to make. It is important however, to add one final observation to the question of, Why They Do It?

That rules and regulations are necessary in a civilized society is a well established fact by those considered to be rational. Rules and regulations are noted to be necessary, desired and beneficial. There is, however, another function which is not often discussed but which also appears to be based on rationality. Gans outlines and discusses thirteen positive uses of poverty. It is Gans' thesis that poverty, even though frowned on by the general public, provides an economic power base and satisfies a number of other functions for those classified as the non-poor.[13]

Black enclaves and Black people constitute a large proportion of the poor in this society, and the enactment of policies in the public interest are seen as steps in the process of maximizing a positive use of their condition. Filled with poverty from four hundred years of deprivation, i.e., poor housing, poor health care, massive unemployment and numerous other broken dreams, Black enclaves, when viewed from this perspective, are thriving and doing well. Public policies, used as the means to stamp out unrest in these enclaves and maintain economic, political, social and cultural control have indeed served a useful function. The Why They Do It for policy-makers in the policy making process are truly reflected in the historical realities and the negative relationships which have existed between Black and White people of this country for a long time.

Summary Remarks and Future Challenges

Culture, defined as the way people live and express themselves in the present, how they identify themselves historically and how they envision and project their future, has been of prime consideration in developing this presentation. A viable culture is therefore a movement.

A culture of oppression reveals a people living in conditions of inadequate nourishment, with the contradictory compulsions for responding to that hunger, as well as a stimulating emotional yearning for relief from intellectual uncertainties and a searching for ways to project their human existance. Any true approach to serving members of a culture must therefore respect these three levels of need and struggle if it is to have any real integrity. Using public policy making and implementation in Black enclaves as the responsible agent of change requires measurement which can clearly indicate, 1) how those needs are identified; 2) how the struggles being waged by the culture are allowed the opportunity to increase the natural balance and harmony within the community for individuals and the community as a whole.

Public policies for Blacks and all other people must be first predicated on definitions of need which reflect the context of life within their communities. Such definitions would truly respect and project as primary, human values over economic and materialistic considerations. They would validate the struggle of all people and enhance their chances to achieve unity, based on their desire to realize a common destiny and secure a life of kinship, justice and love among human kind. The function of an "all people" oriented public policy and government should do no less.

Public policies in so far as the Black enclaves are concerned can at best be classified as a classic failure on the questions of equity, social and economic justice and equal opportunity for competing on an equal footing in the market place. On the issues of maintenance of the status quo, serving and fulfilling the goals of the economic system, maintaining confusion, disillusionment, and presenting a posture of both arrogance and disdain for Black people, public policy can be said to be a huge success. The assertions of the "Public Interest" proclaimed by policy makers have long exluded the "Black Public Interest" and Black enclaves are living proof.

From the argument presented, there are obvious challenges facing those who are committed to social change in the future.

While changes must assuredly be directed to the conditions of Black enclaves and the poor, they must also be directed toward humanizing America as a whole.

First, future efforts of the student, the analyst, the educator, the human service professional and indeed Black people, should begin with a new educational process which will allow for development of a corrected definition of the problem being faced by populations "at risk." Current perspectives concerning social policy have proven insufficient in their comprehensiveness to provide adequate knowledge concerning the economic, political and social oppression and exploitation being faced by a large portion of the American population. Energies and the analysis of the social policy analyst have been preoccupied with issues of equity, need, services, social externalities, rights and the elimination of weakness in the individual and groups, while the primary concern of those responsible for policy making have been that of maintaining the economic system.

Secondly, Public Policy Makers must be elected who are willing to rhetorically and behaviorally commit themselves to enactments that are enforceable and which are initially based on verified data which can assure, to the degree possible, that the public interest of all people is of a primary concern. According to LaPorte, ". . . the more irreversible the economic, physical and social consequences a particular public policy is adjudged to be, the more it should be discouraged."[14] In such a case Black enclaves would less likely be stuck with dead-end approaches to improvement as has been the case in the past.

Thirdly, programs emerging from policy decisions must in their broader visions be forced to be responsive to the economic, political and cultural commonality of all people while deliberately attempting to respect the unique nature of various groups.

Fourth, challenges to the devastation caused by the free market system must be mounted and sustained by an informed populace. Informing the populace should become a function of educational institutions, grade schools, high schools and colleges. Human service educators, in their training of human service professionals should be leaders in this process.

Fifth, the powers of our current bureaucracies must be checked. In their present forms, they have acted as <u>one</u> with policy makers in maintaining enclaves of the poor.

In all of these challenges, the focus must be directed toward the creation of liberated humane existence for all human kind, void of racism, unnecessary broken dreams and impotent desires and aspirations.

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Child Rearing in the Black Community: Social, Cultural and Economic Considerations

Lou M. Beasley

Introduction

This paper will address child rearing practices in the Black community with the view that increased knowledge of this crucial aspect of the Black family will improve social work practice with Black people, and improve the social work educational programs which prepare students for such practice.

Social services are defined as those services designed to help individuals, families and groups meet basic needs, to enhance social functioning, to develop potential and to promote general well-being. Social welfare personnel are usually the agents of these services and a disproportionately large number of Black families are the recipients. Black families become recipients because they are over-represented among the under-educated, the poor, the unemployed, and the discriminated against. It has been the traditional view of society that poor children are victims of faulty child rearing, and that parents who were reared in poverty perpetuate the cycle of faulty child rearing practices from generation to generation. It is the premise of this paper that poverty in the Black Community, perpetuated by racism, impacts the child rearing process and threatens to rob children of their fundamental right of freedom to grow into self determining, productive, achieving, self assured citizens.

A dilemma for professionals is often that of vocabulary. The term "socialization" appears frequently in the literature on child rearing. When we think about the process of enabling a child to move along the maturational continuum from birth to adulthood, somehow, the term, "socialization," does not quite define the complex set of societal circumstances that impinge upon the ability of parents to mold a newborn into a functioning adult. This terminology becomes even more vague when the child under discussion is Black. The Black parent must bring an additional dimension to the parenting process, for Black children must be socialized into two groups, one Black and one White. Billingsley points out, that ". . . socialization for the American [B]lack family entails an additional responsibility: socializing one's young on how to be [B]lack in a [W]hite society."[1]

Family Socialization

In the sense that all human beings must work at being human, the child rearing responsibilities of both Black and White parents are essentially the same. Children need a healthy head start in this world, a healthy fetal environment. The new born needs nourishment, physical comfort, affection and encouragement. The very young need stimulation both sensorily and cognitively, a sense of mastering, moral guidance; to feel safe and secure. While there may be cultural variations on how these needs are met, there is general consensus across cultures that children have the same basic needs and that the family system in one of its many forms has responsibility for meeting these needs.

The monumental work of Parsons and Bales delineated the structure and function of the modern American family, and described the process of socializing children, thus bringing about a clearer understanding of the place of family in American society.[2] Their work did not consider race as a factor in the socialization process. Yet feelings about race constitute a potent cultural force, and are always incorporated into the values and attitudes of both Black and non-Black citizens. It would follow then that negative feelings about Black people impact Black families and compound the responsibilities ordinarily associated with child rearing.

Black parents, regardless of class, bring the negative experience of their struggle for coping in a society which is hostile to them to the parenting situation. The history of American racism reflects the squelching of initiative, independence, self confidence, belief in one's own equality, assertiveness and intelligence in Black people. The task of Black parents is to work against the odds of this history as these characteristics are basic to human beings. They must seek to cultivate and exhibit these human qualities in order to share them with their children.

The means by which Black parents enable children to achieve basic humanness in the face of racial discrimination was researched and debated during the 1960's and early 70's by both Black and White scholars of the family. There was a proliferation of research and professional literature which compared Black children with White children in the areas of intelligence, self esteem, motivation to achieve, etc. Black parents were compared against White middle class norms of marital status, occupation, income, education, etc., in an effort

to explain certain phenomena such as parenting ability, and the ability to perform other societal functions according to certain societal norms. Then as now, Blacks fell short against the norms of the majority group.

During this period, certain Black scholars wrote of strengths,[3] while others justified Black pathology.[4] Chestang theorized that the Black personality is not a dual one, only the responses to living in two opposing cultures are dual.[5]

Much has been written about the matriarchal Black family, paternal absence and socialization, cognitive development in children across races and classes, and other so called differences between Black and White children and their process of development. A psychiatrist, Charlotte Piuck, strongly opposed the notion that oppression and cultural depression play major roles in the socialization process of low income Black parents. Her argument was that the "hardcore" poor Black parents pass on "psychogenic poverty" from generation to generation. In discussing her experiences with these parents she noted:

> The poor [B]lack mothers I was seeing when I first recognized persistent patterns had many different reality and emotional problems. They represented a considerable range of intelligence and insight. They were alike, however, in that they were all lacking in any advanced education or any sophistication in modern child-raising concepts. They did their best to raise their children according to what they thought was right, acting on precepts gained from their own parents. Two concepts emerged as virtually unrevised among them, admidst the differences. They could be summed up in two old, familiar phrases: "Spare the rod and spoil the child," and "Children should be seen and not heard." One rarely hears these phrases now. They are at odds with the psychologic thinking which has been in vogue for the past 30 years and has saturated middle class upbringing. Perhaps they were never the mode of educated, "child-centered" parents.[6]

Piuck's view of child-rearing in low income Black families seems reminiscent of earlier views of these parents, although her

article was written in 1975. She rationalized that there were important ethnic differences between low-income White families and Black families in that low-income White families feel less alienated from social authority than Blacks. She stated that Black families were likely to "condone" or subtly encourage antisocial behavior in their children. In spite of the fact that Piuck concluded children of poverty were suppressed and suffered from a lack of well developed language, she recommended therapy as a means of changing these established behavioral patterns.[7]

Black Children and Socialization

A healthy self concept is viewed to be the outcome of successful parenting. Taylor has examined traditional research which sought to determine the nature and meaning of Black self esteem. It is commonly assumed that because of the brutalizing, psychological effects of racism that most Black people hate themselves, experience identity problems all of their lives and basically have low self-esteem. Taylor concluded that a number of the assumptions and conclusions drawn were based on small samples and weak data. He compared the outcomes of traditional studies to more recent studies employing larger samples.[8] Recent studies have shown that Black children as a group do not appear to be lower in self esteem than White children. Taylor pointed out:

> If we assume that basic processes of psychological functioning and development are similiar for all individuals (and there is yet to be presented evidence to the contrary), then it is reasonable to argue that [B]lack youths, like their counterparts, must come to terms with the host of developmental problems implicit in identity formation.[9]

Contemporary studies of Black youth support the premise that these youths are more likely to measure themselves against the potentials and abilities of other Blacks then with their White counterparts. These children are more likely than previously thought to blame "the system" for racial inequities and not themselves.

The continuing controversy about Black parents as socializers of children recalls the legend of the Greek mythological creature, Proteus, who knew the past, present, and

the future, but refused to utter prophecies. He had the power to assume different shapes so that he could avoid being questioned about the future. In reality all children need a home environment and societal supports which will allow them to grow, to change shapes if you will, as we all must change shapes many times in our lives.

What Billingsley contributed to all who would study the family was a presentation of the Black family as an entity which operates within the realms of the Black human experience.[10] Alex Haley achieved the same feat with his own family in the classic presentation of his roots.[11] Attention must be given to the effect that the attributes and attitudes of the researcher may have on the development of problem formulation, research hypothesis, research design, findings and the interpretation of research findings. These problems are compounded when the researcher is White and the subjects of the research are Black. The majority group approach the behavior of members of their own group as behaviors that exist within the continuum of human experiences. Any race related research that addresses Blacks is meaningless, (i.e., the Black matriarchy, school dropouts, multi-problem, hardcore, suspiciousness, passive, aggressive, etc.), when the study processes and the findings place Blacks within a spectrum where people don't live.

Beginning with the twentieth century much attention was called to the psychological needs of children. This country entered the age of psychological parenting. Much was written by such theorists as Freud, Bowlby, Josslyn and others about the psychological needs of children. This trend ran concurrently with the advent of technology which in effect freed women from the fields and factories and created more child centered roles for mothers. According to Kagan, many American psychologists assumed there was a set of specific parental behaviors that could prevent catastrophic child rearing.[12] Because of decades of inconclusive evidence of such a prescription, the views of many psychologists are similar to those of Taylor's; that more than anything else children need to feel that they are valued by their families and that this must become a belief held by the child.[13] There are no specific prescribed set of actions that can be employed by parents. Kagan goes further to state as follows:

> In our society, characterized by dramatic variability in child-rearing practices, children have the opportunty to compare their treatment with those prescribed by the

> culture and those they see displayed by other parents. The child comes to discover what privileges, actions, and treatments reflect parental concern and affection. He compares his receipt of these symbolic prizes with the lot of siblings and age-mates. That information allows him to decide if he is loved. Rather than view this belief as relative and resilient, parents and psychologists have made it a material entity--a beauty mark that the child carries with him the rest of his life.[14]

The lack of a specific prescription for parenting any child can be seen in the growth of many different kinds of parent education groups. One such group, Parent Effectiveness Training, has trained 8,000 instructors and 250,000 parents so far. Seldom do these groups assume a psycho-dynamic focus. They may be behaviorally based, reality focused or they may teach specific techniques aimed toward better parent-child relationships.

Implications for Social Work Education and Practice

Any education of social workers on the Black family and Black children must develop from the perspective that most Black parents want their children to grow up being and feeling equal and at home in the world in which they live. Black parents need to be empowered to feel "OK" about their parenting ability and enabled to transmit a feeling of "OK-ness" to their children. It is thought that education is a most strategic and effective empowering tool. Parent education groups in the Black community can serve to reduce social conflicts through learning and can provide an opportunity for parents to learn directly from their daily experiences. When parenting techniques prove dysfunctional it would be more productive for behavior change to occur within the context of the strengths inherent in the Black community. Solomon also views education as an effective tool for empowering communities and states as follows:

> Environmental processes focus on the environment as a source of human problems and its change as a means of their relief. The educational aspect involved is learning the sources of environmental support, and the techniques

> of bringing about environmental change. Thus, the concept of education permeates most therapeutic models. However, the delivery systems of therapeutic services emphasize treatment rather than education, so that they are offered in clinics, or even offered by agencies or centers that involve diagnosis, treatment plans, case histories and similar medical concepts. This is unfortunate for all persons seeking help who must place themselves in a sick role to receive it, but it is particularly pernicious in [B]lack communities where the negative image held by the larger society is merely accentuated by the stigma associated with receiving services from treatment-oriented centers. The development of educational centers seems a particularly good move then from the stand point of [B]lack communities.[15]

While Piuck stresses the need for therapy aimed toward insight, the suggestion here is that Parent-Child Education Centers, with programs geared towards empowering Black families would be a more productive social service for the Black community. It is proposed also that schools of social work explore opportunities for designing field experiences which employ the concepts of empowerment within the medium of the socio-education group. This approach de-emphasizes inadequacy, pathology, and the use of treatment labels and provides opportunity for the social worker to learn as she/he teaches; to build on strengths of members and impart new knowledge. This group model also provides an opportunity for the worker to determine the specific needs of members and to plan other appropriate intervention strategies to meet these needs; i.e., community development needs, advocacy opportunities and the need for individual counseling with family members when appropriate, etc.

The focus put forth is on the need for an educational system (field practicum and classroom) and practice methodology necessary for understanding and working with Black families and children. In the educational system of the classroom individuals are a part of two systems, that of their immediate social and physical environment (the nurturing system), and that of the major society in which the nurturing system is embedded. The

nurturing system should also include knowledge of the psycho-social, political and economic circumstances of the Black community, issues regarding biculturalism, knowledge of the functions served by racism and poverty and an understanding that Black people must reject being victimized and socialized into inferior roles. In short, what is good social work practice with White children is good practice with Black children. Don't put Black children in a place where people don't live.

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The Afro-American Experience: Another Conceptual Perspective For Professional Practice

Edyth L. Ross

Introduction

There appear to be some generalized parallels in comparing the operational activities of social work practitioners caught in the web of interlocking systemic arrangements, and prevailing conditions which gave rise to the coping strengths of Afro-Americans in their continuous struggle to survive, endure conflict, be creative and transcend adversity. The question arises as to how much is similar and understood?

Historically and currently social workers represent one of the few professions closest in proximity to an understanding of the range of human sufferings of the poor, the young, the old, the physically and mentally sick, the handicapped and the disabled. For Afro-Americans there have been the added situations of caste and race. Although positive incremental changes have alleviated individual, group and community ills, scarcity in the allocation and distribution of needed resources, and powerlessness in decision-making processes have prevented any meaningful or sustaining solutions to human problems. Consciousness of these two threads has traditionally been part of the experiences of oppressed peoples.

Two other arching propositions, extant over time, clearly point out the genesis of these limited recurring responses to real and evident crippling life situations. (1) Social welfare and social work solutions reflect economic and political decision-making. (2) Social welfare and social work solutions to problems impacting Afro-Americans reflect economic, political, and social decision-making.

The types of relationships evolving out of European and African historical events are still prevalent in social welfare policies and services today. One only has to compare the principles embodied in the English Poor Laws of 1601 and those in current public welfare policies. Fundamentally there are no vast differences. The golden age of Queen Elizabeth coupled with the breakdown of feudalism, growth of nation-states and mercantilism also produced a highly mobile population. Fear and the need for a laboring force appeared to be motivations for

codifying Elizabethan policy. At the same time economic need and technological advances in maritime and military arenas provoked the subjugation of the nations of Western and Central Africa, as has been well described by W. E. B. Dubois. He implies in both a sexual and a social sense the unwillingness of a proud people to totally submit to social control.[1]

Blacks and Social Welfare

An analysis of Afro-American social welfare and social work development within the contradictions of dual societal forces is indicative of the process of developing strengths through adversity. The turbulence and rhetoric of the sixties has been supplanted by the seeming quiescence of the seventies. In reality though, the trend has been movements beyond the patterns of the oral tradition of the past to seeking the truth in the rigours of scholarly writing and redefinitions of the many and varied components of Afro-American society. As is colorfully stated by Bennett, "Blackness is that universe of values and attitudes and orientations which rises like dew from the distant shores of our destiny."[2] Again, as pointed out by Jackson, some of the common Black values in conflict with those of another society include, Freedom, Humanism, Social Equality, Social Justice, Social Reform, Mutual Aid, Dignity, and Citizenship.[3] These corporate values emanating out of the ". . . political and religious leadership of the African forest"[4] served and still serve as added perspectives or world view guiding Black social welfare and social work development.

In a comparision of six major Anglo settler societies, including North America, Baker illustrates the results of power contests in redistributing power, privilege, and resources to meet the demands of White dominance.[5] The Achilles heel in this process, in the United States was the inability to articulate structural policy decisions with cultural policy decisions; the end result being variant forms of polyculturalism. Since this latter notion did not become a part of western consciousness until the reemergence of African independent nations and the Black Power movement in the United States, fertile soil existed for initiating alternative patterns of behavior, fusing vestiges of earlier clan living with adaptive ones necessitated by structural dominance.

The fact also exists that all Americans of African descent are not monolithic in their thinking and acting, therefore do not fully subscribe to such points of view. However, these adaptive behaviors seem to serve as a basis for understanding the

vacillations of the two conflicting notions of separatism and integration as sole achievable goals. It, also, helps to clarify to some extent the subtle variations of racism in the North and overt expressions in the South. The fundamental rationale for this was the development of different and conflicting economic subsystems: industrialization with contractual 'free' labor in the North and a slave society in the agrarian South. Abolition was only an inevitable issue in the war between the states. The critical one was determining which economic systems would prevail.

The southern historians Fitzhugh[6] in a philosophical sense and Cash[7] in a more dilletante and popular sense, view southern society as an aristocratic ideal. The movie, "Gone With the Wind" reflects a similar notion. Its very title catches the prophecy of societal change. It could not co-exist with a system of free labor imbued with the sense of justice, liberty and fraternity of the French philosophers, and a thrust for upward mobility, based on individual initiative. For a time their ideas prevailed even into the political realm. For as Miller indicates, the fundamental social contract of the United States, the Constitution, negated and avoided coming fully to grips with the question of slavery and by so doing abdicated its responsibility to the southern way of life.[8]

However, the closing of the slave trade, the fear of uprising and rebellion, and its own need for propagation of an enslaved population made it necessary to keep slaves healthy in mind and spirit. Allowances had to be made to allocate limited freedoms.

In the contexts of these limited freedoms, a slave society developed with its own functional distributive arrangements which provided for survival, creative expressions and enhancement of deepening relationships with a supreme being. Where the workplace was stark evidence of harsh attendance to required duty, the slave quarters, even for those in servant relationships were the mainstay for emotional release, mutual support, establishment of familial relationships and communication systems and planning for change. Extended family patterns, enduring kinship bonds, intricate musical and dance patterns, new modes of language expression, and differential child rearing practices suggest competitive and communal practices in two diametrically opposed worlds. One was designed to dehumanize, the other to develop individual, group, and community coping strengths, and self-help supports.

Joanne Rhone[9] and more expansively John Blasingame[10] cite instances of fledgling social service activities in caring for the young, the old, the sick and the maim, both on the larger plantations or in instances where the slave population was less than twenty (20). The writings of Andrew Billingsley[11] and Robert Hill[12] on Black families and alternative child rearing patterns, Jualynne Dodson and Susan Ross[13] on the expressive behaviors evidenced in Black vernacular English, Black food habits, and Black musical development, all have elaborated on similar themes.

In both the freed population in the North and South and among the enslaved, the Black church in its visible and invisible form emerged as the one fundamental organization providing an enduring force in attending to spiritual needs as well as an additional source for developing social service type activities for its members. As Sanders has illustrated, the Church served as the ". . . nucleus of [B]lack social cohesion."[14]

Via educational means, self-taught or assisted in formalized units, or through apprentice-type arrangements the freed Afro-American learned skills not only enabling him to provide for himself but to join with others in early economic associations such as cooperative societies, insurance and burial funds, secret societies, trade unions, political activities, convention movements. These, though rudimentary in nature, show evidence of planning for deferred gratifications and social participation. Organized resistance resulted in the establishment of the Underground Railroad and abortive slave revolts.

Drawing on the psychological theories of Freud and Sullivan and sociological role theory, Elkins has portrayed the slave personality as a childlike Sambo dominated by a powerful master and denied the rights to growth and maturation. In this comparative study of Jewish prisoners in a Nazi concentration camp and slaves, he perceived of both groups as completely under such rigid pressures and controls, the tendency was for the victims to develop docile personalities, incapable of thinking and acting on their own initiatives.[15] His portrait does not sufficiently take into account the characteristics of Jack, the overtly accomodating slave or Nat the rebellious one amplified more fully by Blasingame.[16]

St. Clair Drake significantly states, ". . . [W]hite men defined all Africans as [B]lacks, "les Noirs," the slaves counter image of themselves was that they were Africians."[17] The full story of how the two fused threads of Africa and America

were constantly in the Black consciousness has yet to be written. However, this duality is appearing more in the literature, such as in the writings of Chestang[18] and Jones.[19]

Social Work Practice Issues

Chestang's model of the transcendant character embodying the depreciated character[20] is descriptive of a much more complex being than that of Elkins. One only has to examine the many different roles played by "Mammy Pleasants," Charlotte Forten or Robert Smalls[21] to dispel any real thought of simplistic individuals.

Beyond the Civil war period, although legally free, the violence of Klan activities established customary mores and practices and systems of peonage attempted to reinstitute a caste-like social structure. However, Blacks on their own or with others developed organizational arrangements such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, educational and child-caring insititutions, hospitals, settlement houses, and institutional churches. Examples of the latter include the Sea Island Experiment, the precursor of Freedmen's Bureau, the Neighborhood Union, a unique settlement house plan in Atlanta, and the Carrie Steele Pitts Home for Children.

The Neighborhood Union, founded in 1908, has a number of singular significances. Unlike its White counterparts, the settlement house developed in several sections of the City of Atlanta rather than one to address the multiple problems facing Blacks. Its operations were so successful, locally, the all-White Board of Education wished it had thought of it first. Nationally, it was selected as the one organization by the Federal government to handle flood and health problems. Internationally, it was viewed by the government of Haiti as a model for welfare development. Out of its varied social welfare and social work activities grew a recognition for futher education of its untrained workers. Their efforts and those of other leaders led to the development of the Atlanta School of Social Work, the first Black graduate school in the country. Significantly, from its onset, the School recognized the need for addressing social problems and emphasized a community organization approach in addition to direct services to individuals. A final point of importance was the inclusion in all dimensions of its organizational structure of community representatives, clearly ante-dating the "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Educated humane

middle class leaders worked with the poor to improve social conditions.

Other actions of Blacks include emigration to Africa and other countries, establishment of all Black towns in rural and urban areas, political participation, locally and nationally, and self-help economic development.[22] All of these achievements occured within the severe constraints and prohibitions of social, economic, and political decisions.

A sense of community and remembrance of things past transcended class levels. Socialization processes included teaching the young how to manage in two worlds. It is in this dual sense that Frazier's study of middle class Blacks,[23] needs to be understood. Earlier and later writings indicate his profound interest and concern for all classes of Blacks. At the time of this publication, he was also competing to become the first Black President of the American Sociological Society.

Another study by Barnes reflects on a similar theme. This concerns the efforts of middle class Blacks with incomes of $10,000 to $100,000, and impacted by racist customs to develop programs which not only helped their own families and children but also, demonstrated innovative approaches to help enhance statuses of lower socio-economic groups.[24]

The profession of social work has long vacillated between providing approaches of social reform or services to individuals. Social problems such as drug abuse, alcoholism once attributed to so-called ghetto areas are now recognized as being also highly prevalent in higher income White populations. Rapidly rising inflationary costs are straining and pressuring all families, bringing to their consciousness new strains of powerlessness and awareness of debilitating circumstances beyond their control.

The need for the social work profession now is to recognize that individual (micro) and social (macro) problems are both of the same cloth and require simultaneous kinds of intervention. Meeting human needs requires broader perspectives, more informed actions and coordinated efforts.

The social aspects of interpersonal relations was recognized by an eminent group of anthropologists in Paris in 1967. The following statement was adopted by them as a comment for the times:

> . . . all men are born free and equal both in dignity and in rights, . . . a particularly

> striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism . . . the human problems arising from so-called 'race' relations are social in origin rather than biological. A basic problem is racism, namely, anti-social beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory inter-group relations are justifiable on biological grounds.[25]

One of the chief means available for the eradication of racism is the educational system. Therefore, in reviewing its role in preparing social work students for current practice, the Atlanta University School of Social Work (AUSSW) redesigned its curriculum and the kind of practice model thought to be needed in the profession today. It reaffirms, of course, its historical mandate to provide a social work experience which recognizes the pluralistic nature of American society with emphasis on the unique experiences of Blacks and other oppressed people. The School seeks:

> . . . to prepare students for effective human service practice in a society which espouses noble doctrines of equality and rights, but has, as yet to achieve a state where these are truly guaranteed to all members of the population.[26]

More specifically it seeks to prepare direct service practitioners, administrators, policy makers and planners with generic practice skills and specialized knowledge and skill bases, with a special focus ". . . on helping Blacks and other oppressed groupings."[27]

To achieve these objectives the curriculum is organized to promote the successful integration of four threads.

1. Humanistic Values
2. The meaning and significance of the Afro-centric perspective.
3. Application of the autonomous social work problem solving methodology.
4. Planned change.[28]

The administration, faculty, programs and alumni of AUSSW are involved in both the furthering of professional knowledge and

skill bases as well as participating in social change and community services on all levels, locally, nationally and internationally.

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The Black Experience In Education: The Case Of Testing

Howard F. Taylor

Introduction

This paper concerns the intelligence quotient (IQ), ability, and even the achievement testing of Blacks in the United States. Several issues are of interest, however, the following will be addressed: a) The continuing Jensen controversy -- where it now stands, and new developments; b) A brief sampling of the kinds of arithmetic and statistical errors that are made in the professional, scientific literature on IQ, especially that literature that pertains to the genetic heritability of IQ; and c) Broader issues concerning testing, particularly legal issues.

As most people now know, psychologist Arthur Jensen published an article in 1969 entitled "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?"[1] In this article, Jensen presented the argument, heard periodically through history, that one's intelligence, to the extent that it can be measured, is determined more by one's genetic makeup or "nature" than by one's social environment or education ("nurture"). Echoing a conclusion he drew in a seminal article two years earlier[2], Jensen concluded that the genetic heritability of human IQ for populations of White individuals is "substantial," and is approximately .80, meaning that approximately 80 per cent of the totality of human differences in IQ is attributable to some kind of hypothetical genetic mechanism, thus allocating about 20 per cent to such things as social environment, education, gene-environment interactions, and everything else. Thus, according to Jensen, one's IQ is genetically determined to roughly the same degree as are certain physical attributes, such as one's height -- a characteristic also thought to have a genetic heritability of 80 per cent.

Jensen's conclusions pertaining to the heritability of IQ within White populations stimulated furor enough. But, it was what he hypothesized about race differences in intelligence that catapulted the nature-nurture issue firmly into the limelight of contemporary history. Jensen noted that Blacks and Whites differ on the average by roughly 15 points on standard IQ tests such as the Stanford-Binet, Wechsler, Lorge-Thorndike, and Raven's Progressive Matrices. He then reasoned that if IQ is largely determined genetically, it follows that it is a ". . . not

unreasonable hypothesis that genetic factors are strongly implicated in the average Negro-[W]hite intelligence difference"[3]

Virtually all of Jensen's writing over the years since his 1969 article has continued to conclude in favor of "substantial" genetic heritability for IQ. For example, in 1970 he concluded that the evidence "is very clear" that there is ". . . a large genetic component in individual differences in IQ";[4] and also that differences in "mental abilities [have] a substantial genetic component."[5] In 1972 he asserted confidently that it is a ". . . scientifically established fact [that] hereditary or genetic factors account for more of the IQ differences among persons than do cultural and environmental factors".[6] In 1973 he observed "I have found nothing to cause me to alter my original thesis in the 1969 HER article in any major respect:"[7] in 1975 that IQ heritability is ". . . from about .60 to .90"[8] and very recently from ".65 to .80."[9] Indeed, in 1973, he felt confident enough to venture the quantitative estimate that ". . . something between one-half and three-fourths . . . [of the Black-White difference in IQ] . . . is attributable to genetic factors . . ."[10] More recently, he considers it a ". . . considerable plausibility of there being some nontrivial genetic component in the IQ difference between racial groups."[11] Jensen's most recent pronouncement is that IQ test themselves are not biased against Blacks and thus, so he argues, they constitute a "fair" test of intellectual ability.[12]

Jensen has his followers, who have continued from 1969 right on down to the present day. The notorious Nobel Laureate physicist William Shockley has said, in 1970, that ". . . the principle cause of our American Negro problems is racially genetic."[13] He has also argued -- and this represents the advocacy of genocide -- that low-IQ Blacks might be sterilized. After his retirement from the Stanford University faculty in 1978, he was still going strong, arguing in Shockley (1978) that both the poor and Black have "bad shakes" from the dice cups of nature.[14]

While other researchers do not conclude in favor of genetically-based race differences in intelligence, they do, nonetheless, conclude in favor of high genetic causation within populations (for Whites only and for Blacks only), and some conclude in favor of genetic causation of social class (SES) differences among people as well. One is Herrnstein of Harvard University, who like Jensen argues that IQ is 80 per cent

genetically heritable, and also, that social classes have a genetic basis -- such that those in the higher classes have "smarter" genes.[15,16]

Bruce Eckland, a sociologist, has advanced a very similar argument.[17,18,19] Another is British psychologist Hans Eysenck, who also concludes in favor of 80 per cent heritability for Whites and Blacks as well.[20,21]

The Jensen controversy has given rise to what one might call the "moderate" hereditarians. While they conclude that IQ is strongly genetically heritable, they settle (sometimes) on a quantitative estimate of around 50 per cent rather than Jensen's 80 per cent. Unlike Jensen, they make no inferences about possible genetic race differences in intelligence. These include sociologist Christopher Jencks who concluded, using path analysis strategies, that heritability was about 45 per cent.[22,23] Other mathematically sophisticated estimates include the research of Rao, Morton and associates at the University of Hawaii.[24,25,26,27] The work of Scarr at Wisconsin and Yale concludes in favor of moderate (.40) to high (.70) IQ heritability.[28,29,30,31,32]

The importance of the above citations is significant for Black and poor people. Most of this research is considered to be highly sophisticated and scientific. As such, it has come to have considerable policy significance. IQ scores have been used by some teachers, policymakers, legislators, judges, and others as a basis on which to keep Blacks disadvantaged, on the grounds that if IQ is largely genetic, then those who are oppressed (the Black and the poor) deserve to be oppressed since their bad genes demand that they remain forever at the bottom of society.

The Twin Studies -- And The Myth Of The "Separated" Identical Twins

How is it that Jensen and the other hereditarians are able to arrive at some actual numerical value for the genetic "heritability" of IQ? They do so by studying how IQ similarity varies for different kinds of kinships -- between parent and child; for identical twins; for fraternal twins; for ordinary siblings (brothers and sisters); for unrelated persons adopted and raised in the same home; and other kinds of kinship comparisons. The basic idea is that pairs of persons who are high in biological relation to each other should be more similar in their IQs to each other than pairs of persons who are less in biological relatedness. (For example brothers and sisters are more similar

to each other in IQ than are first cousins; first cousins are more similar in IQ than are second cousins.) A fuller discussion of these various techniques and their numerous flaws in detail can be found elsewhere.[33] One particular technique will be critiqued here -- the study of "separated" identical twins -- because it is interesting, and because its use has involved fakery and fraud.

The basic idea is this: Identical ("monozygotic" [MZ] or one-egg) twins are known for a fact to be genetically identical. Each is an exact genetic duplicate of the other. Each is a clone of the other. This means that if pairs of identical twins could be separated at birth from each other and then randomly raised in different families in different locations in different environments, then if the twin pairs still resembled each other in IQ (i.e., if their IQ pair - correlation were high -- close to 1.00 rather than close to zero), this would indeed be hard evidence in favor of the genetic causation of IQ. Jensen claimed that this IQ correlation for separated identical twins was around .80 or 80 per cent; that is one method by which he arrived at his famous 80 per cent estimate.[34,35,36]

Jensen used data from the only four known studies of separated twins in existence studies by: British psychologist C. Burt on 53 British pairs of twins[37] (it is now quite certain that Burt actually faked much of his data on these twins; more on this later); Shields on 37 British pairs;[38] Juel-Nielsen on (only) 12 pairs from Denmark;[39] and the only study so far of separated identical twins ever done in the U.S., the oldest study of all, that by Newman, et. al.[40]

Table 1 -- IQ CORRELATIONS OF MONOZYGOTIC TWINS REARED "APART"

1 Study	2 Country	3 IQ Test employed (Jensen)a	4 IQ Test employed (original authors)	5 N (pairs) (Jensen)b	6 N (pairs) (original authors)	7 Correlation (Jensen)b	8 Correlation (original authors)d	9 Correlation corrected for unreliability (Jensen)b
Newman et al (1937)	U.S.A.	Stanford-Binet	Stanford-Binet	19	19	.77	.67	.81
Shields (1962)		Vocab. Test plus Raven's Progressive Matrices	Dominoes plus twice Raven's Mill Hill Vocab. Test	44	37	.77	.77	.81
Burt (1966)	England	Stanford-Binet	"Individual Test"	53	53	.86	.86	.91
Juel-Nielsen (1965)	Denmark	--	Weschler-Bellevue	--	12	--	.62[c]	--

a. As reported in Jensen (1969, p. 52).

b. As reported in Jensen (1969, p. 52) for Newman et al, Shields, and Burt only.

c. Reported as .68 Jensen (1970, p. 137) due to combining of time 1 and time 2 scores.

d. I re-did each or these (except Burt's, which is "unavailable") from the raw data, and got the same numbers as the original authors.

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These separated twin studies have been and are being used as scientific evidence of the genetic inferiority of Blacks. There are severe problems with these separated twin studies. First, Jensen simply lied about some of the basic factual information related to the studies (see Table 1). Second, Jensen -- and many others as well -- never really revealed that the twins studied varied quite widely in their degree of separation, so much so that many were not even separated at all (see Tables 2, 3, 4). In fact most of the twins (in the Shields, Juel-Nielson, and Newman et. al. studies)[41,42,43] were not "separated" at all in any sense of the word, and thus, their IQ similarity (that is, their high IQ correlations) could well be due to their environmental similarity rather than their genetic similarity.

Table 2 HOW SEPARATE WERE THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS OF THE "SEPARATED" IDENTICAL TWINS? EXAMPLES FROM THE SHIELDS STUDY

Bertram and Christopher -- Grew up "amicably, living next door to one another"; "They went to the same school"; "Both twins became garage mechanics" (pp. 164-165)[a]

Timothy and Kevin -- "Attended the same school"; "lived a few roads away from each other in the same Northern industrial town" (p. 182)

Benjamin and Ronald -- "at school together"; "have continued to live in the same village"; "used to truant together" (pp. 188-189)

Jessie and Winifred -- "brought up within a few hundred yards of one another"; "gravitated to one another at school at the age of 5"; "play together quite a lot at school and during the evenings" (pp. 189-191)

Molly and Dorothy -- "continued to attend the same school"; "since marriage they have lived in the same Midlands town and meet regularly" (p. 206)

Joan and Dinah -- "quarrelled a lot as children"; "together most of the time" (pp. 214-215)

Charlotte and Laura -- "lived as close neighbours"; "attending the same school until they were 15"; "were closely attached" (p. 225)

Mary and Nancy -- "attended the same school"; "have lived in the same country village" (p. 227)

Joanna and Isobel -- "went to private schools together"; "both [adoptive] homes were strict . . . and highly religious" (p. 233)

Frederick and Peter -- "different schools" but "in the same Kent town"; "in the window cleaning business together" (p. 172)

Foster and Francis -- "went to different schools" but brought up about 5 miles apart"; "would meet in each others homes" (p. 173)

Amy and Teresa -- different schools but "social conditions in both homes were very poor" (p. 237)

Dora and Brenda -- different schools until the age of 12; but "special point was made of seeing that the twins had the same clothes, the same presents and the same pocket-money" (p. 240)

a. All page references are from Shields (1962).

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Table 3 HOW SEPARATE WERE THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS OF THE "SEPARATED" IDENTICAL TWINS? EXAMPLES FROM THE NEWMAN ET AL. STUDY

Edwin and Fred -- "in the same New England town"; "went to the same school for a time"; "families were of essentially the same social and economic status"; "each owns a fox terrier dog named Trixie" (p. 281)[a]

Kenneth and Jerry -- Jerry's foster father was "a city fireman with only a fourth grade education"; Kenneth's was "a city fireman with a very limited education"; they "lived in the same city"; "no difference in the schooling of these two boys" (pp. 264-266)

Harold and Holden -- "attended the same township high school and were together in this school for three years"; "educational environments may be considered essentially equal" (p. 228)

Ada and Ida -- "have seen a good deal of each other, sometimes living together for months at a time"; "Each had the equivalent of third-grade training" (pp. 203-204)

Maxine and Virginia -- "only minor differences in the social millieus of the two girls" (p. 290)

Thelma and Zelma -- Thelma's foster father "had been a schoolteacher"; Zelma's had taught school for a time" (p. 256)

Edith and Fay -- "were in their youth so similar in every way that one frequently substituted for the other at her place of employment" (p. 139); "no significant differences in the character of the two foster-homes"; "two homes were in small towns and definitely similar in social and cultural status" (p. 195)

a. All page references are from Newman et al. (1937).

Table 4 HOW SEPARATE WERE THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS OF THE "SEPARATED" IDENTICAL TWINS? EXAMPLES FROM THE JUEL-NIELSEN STUDY

Karin and Kristine -- Different schools but "SES circumstances of foster homes can hardly have differed very much" (p. 229)[a]; they "often met at dances and the like" (p. 223); both were domestics; both married "smallholders" (p. 229)

Ingegerd and Monika -- Attended the same school (p. 113) where they were often confused with each other (p. 104); and "spent the latter half of their childhood together with their mother" (p. 90)

Martha and Marie -- Grew up in the same neighborhood (p. 148); attended the same school for the same number of years (p. 151)

Astrid and Edith -- Both "attended private school from six to fourteen" (pp. 261 and 264)

a. All page references are from Juel-Nielsen (1965).

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Examine Table 1. Here, the data of the original investigators is put forth versus what Jensen said they said. Jensen made four factual errors in his 1969 article[44] (see the circled portions in Table 1): a) he misreported the test actually given by Shields;[45] b) he misreported the test given by Burt[46] (even assuming that some test of some sort was in fact given by Burt); c) he reported Shields as having a sample of 44 pairs of twins when in reality Shields reported correlation data on only 37 pairs;[47] and finally, d) he reported the Newman et. al. correlation as .77 rather than as .67, which is the one reported by the original authors themselves.[48]

But these errors are minor. In order to argue that the IQ similarity of twins reflects a genetic basis for IQ, one must study pairs who have been separated virtually at birth, and then allocated at random to diverse environments. In reality, how separated were these twins? Tables 2 through 4 tell a tale ignored by Jensen, Shockley, Herrnstein, Eysenck, and others as well. (The strong similarities in the environments of the twins who were supposed to be separated was initially noted by Kamin).[49,50]

The above reflects some idea of how actually "separated" were the separated twins. What difference does this all make in terms of the IQ correlation? Tables 5 and 6 tell the story in this regard. Note from Table 5 that if consideration is given to whether or not the twins were reunited for a time after their initial separation, then the IQ correlation (i.e., the IQ <u>similarity</u> for the pairs) for those who were <u>not</u> re-united is consistently less than for those who were. This difference persists across the three studies analyzed, with the largest differences for the Shields study. (Burt's twins are not analyzed here, nor in Table 6 following, since the appropriate data are not available, if indeed the data ever existed in the first place.)

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Table 5 -- IQ CORRELATIONS AND MEAN INTRAPAIR DIFFERENCES, BY CHILDHOOD REUNION

	Shields, Raw Scores	Shields, Transformed Scores	Newman et al.	Juel-Nielsen, $Time_1$ Scores	Juel-Nielsen, Combined Scores	Averaged Correlation
Reunited	.82 (27)	.86 (27)	.87 (11)	.67 (6)	.77 (6)	.85 (44)
	6.74	5.44	4.55	7.16	5.00	
Not reunited	.52[1] (10)	.55[1] (10)	.51[1] (8)	.51 (6)	.59 (6)	.55[2] (24)
	16.80	13.70	13.25	7.33	7.83	

1. $P < .10$, compared to the correlation coefficient immediately above, using z-transformations

2. $P < .01$

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Table 6 -- IQ CORRELATIONS AND MEAN INTRAPAIR DIFFERENCES, BY SIMILARITY IN SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

	Shields, Raw Scores	Shields, Transformed Scores	Newman et al.	Juel-Nielsen, $Time_1$ Scores	Juel-Nielsen, Combined Scores	Averaged Correlation
Strong or Possible[a]	.89 (27)	.89 (27)	.91 (12)	.66 (7)	.72 (7)	.87 (46)
	6.26	5.07	3.92	6.71	5.14	
Minimal	.45[1] (18)	.44[1] (10)	.36[1] (7)	.50 (5)	.51 (5)	.43[2] (22)[b]
	17.80	14.70	15.57	8.00	8.20	

1. $P < .05$, compared to the correlation coefficient immediately above, using z-transformations.

2. $P < .001$

a. Separate "strong" and "possible" correlations are available. They are: For Shields' raw scores, .90 (14) and .87 (13); for Shields' transformed scores, .90 (14) and .87 (13); for Newman et al. , .71 (4) and .94 (8); for Juel-Nielsen's time scores, .63 for 5 "possibles", and thus no correlation for the 2 remaining ("strong") pairs. For Juel-Nielsen's combined scores, the 5 "possibles" correlated .71.

b. This datum (.43) results in h^2 estimates of from .34 (highest) to .03 to less than zero when inserted in a path model (from Jencks, et al.) which takes into account, (G,E) covariance, and environmental similarity.

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Table 6 classifies twin pairs into two categories -- those having "strong" or "possible" environmental similarities (attending the same school for the same number of years; having identical or very similar SES characteristics of respective adopting homes); and those having low ("minimal") environmental similarity (different school; different SES environments). The results depart dramatically from the picture painted by Jensen and the others. When environmental similarity between twin pairs is low, then the IQ correlation is also low (the weighted averaged correlation across the three studies is .43). When remaining environmental similarities plus other similarities are taken into account (see "b" on the .43 correlation in Table 6), then the IQ correlation drops even further, down to nearly zero in some cases. That is a long way from Jensen's .80 correlation!

The Cyril Burt Scandal: An Update

A scandal has arisen regarding the studies of Cyril Burt which now rages in England. Cyril Burt is significant for several reasons. First of all, Burt strongly influenced the establishment of Britain's 1944 Education Act, which established an early variant of the current "tracking" systems in both the United States (U.S.) and in England. Second, Burt's work had a major impact on Jensen, and was in fact the predominant influence on Jensen's own research interests in the 1960's. Third, Cyril Burt was the first psychologist to be knighted in England (he was knighted in 1946), and his influence on the use of IQ test scores in both England and the U.S., and especially on Blacks in the U.S., was very marked.

As noted earlier, Burt was responsible for the largest study of separated identical twins ever done (53 pairs of such twins). But in 1972 and 1973, psychologist Leon Kamin made the following most interesting observations:

a) Detailed descriptions of Burt's supposed 53 separated twin pairs does not exist; in fact, the data that were available were destroyed shortly after Burt's death in 1971.

b) There are no descriptions in any of Burt's writings -- or in the writings of anyone else -- of exactly what specific IQ tests Burt actually gave to his twins.

c) There are suspicious correlations given in various publications of Burt, not only for the separated twins but for data on other types of kinships as well.[51,52]

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The correlations are suspicious because they remain the same, to four decimal places, even after the composition of the samples on which they were based changed over time. For a datum (the correlation) to remain the same over time on a sample that changed its size over time would be to strain the rules of probability. What is most likely to have happened is that Burt was simply faking the correlations and at least some of the data.

Within the last two years, additional information has been uncovered concerning Burt. First, it has been noted (first by O. Gillie, writing in the Times of London in the fall of 1976) that two of Burt's co-authors and research assistants (M. Howard and C. Conway), whom he cites and with whom he co-authored several articles, probably never existed, and were figments of the imagination of an aging Burt.[53]

Second, a number of recent discoveries by D. Dorfman, a psychologist, suggest that Burt[54] probably faked data that he once had reported which concerned the relationship between IQ and occupation.[55,56] Reportedly the higher one's occupational rank or occupational prestige, then the higher the average IQ for that occupation. Burt's article is a much-cited "classic" supposedly supportive of this occupation-IQ relationship.[57]

Third, it is interesting to note that shortly after Burt's death, an official court-appointed biographer was assigned the task of writing the definitive biography about Burt. This biography has been recently completed,[58] and it has come up with some findings for which England was no doubt most unprepared. For example, Hearnshaw notes that while Burt claimed to have collected data on separated identical twins after his retirement from his university post, the archival evidence, which includes Burt's own professional correspondence, suggests otherwise: Burt had no research assistants during this period, no facilities, no help of any kind, was medically infirm, and -- interestingly -- his diaries of those days do not indicate any research activity.[59]

Burt's own biographer concludes that ". . . we can be sure that Burt himself did not collect any data on twins, or any other topic, during these years . . ."[60] It is interesting to contemplate that this is the very same data base upon which Jensen relied so heavily in concluding in favor of the genetic inferiority of American Blacks.

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Hearnshaw's book contains interesting information about Burt. Moreover, it indicates how influential Burt was in both the United States and England -- and how influential he was on the treatment of Blacks not only in England, but most particularly in the United States. The book also reveals how devious Burt was in his falsification of data, his writing articles under a pseudonym and his views of lower class individuals

Samples Of Other Kinds Of Errors In The IQ And Testing Literature

There are examples of out-and-out miscalculation and arithmetic error which abound in the IQ heritability literature. Only a few instances of what represents incorrect arithmetic will be presented. A more detailed discussion of methodological errors is put forth elsewhere.[61]

Table 7 SOME HERITABILITY ESTIMATES FROM SCARR AND WEINBERG (1977)

$h^2(1)$	$h^2(2)$	$h^2(3)$
.40	.52	.78
.20	.28	.68
.38	.48	.62
.23	.32	.58 should be .46
.47	.64	1.06 should be .86
.50	.60	.72 should be .66
.36	--	--
.62	--	--
.98 should be 1.02	--	--
.31	.38 should be .42	.70
-.01	.18	.52
.27	.34	.44
.12 should be .10	.14	.40 should be .28
.53	.76	1.12 should be .94
.46	.54	.66 should be .60

Table 8 MORE HERITABILITY ESTIMATES FROM SCARR AND WEINBERG (1977)

$h^2(1)$	$h^2(2)$	$h^2(3)$	$h^2(4)$
.25	.10	.06	.00 should be -.10
.15	.00	.00 should be -.24	.00 should be -.42

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First, consult Table 7. These represent calculations of the IQ heritability coefficient (abbreviated h^2) from a recent article by Scarr and Weinberg.[62] (The study involved the study of both White children who were adopted into White families, and also Black children who were adopted into White families.) Notice first of all that the heritability estimate values go all the way from near zero to greater than 1.00. This, of course, relates nothing, however, more importantly there were errors made in the calculations. The investigator has recalculated all of Scarr and Weinberg's heritability values and in nine places got different answers than they reported. It would appear that the errors represent carelessness -- but it was noted that in seven out of these nine instances, the correct value is less than the value originally reported by Scarr and Weinberg.

Now turn to Table 8. Here the errors become more serious -- they involve what appears to be the suppression of results. Note that in three instances, heritability coefficients are reported as zero. But in actual fact, if one takes the time to do the actual calculations, these three coefficients come out to be negative, as shown on the table. What this means is that for these particular calculations, the heritability coefficient is meaningless and makes no sense whatever. To suppress these negative values gives the reader the impression that one is dealing with a scientifically meaningful coefficient (which cannot, in theory, come out to be negative). Obtaining negative values would seriously question the use of the heritability coefficient in the first place.

A Note On Some Legal Issues

There has been a lot of recent activity in the courts around the issue of testing, not only IQ testing but "ability" and achievement testing as well. The basic legal principle is as follows: One of the major purposes or uses of tests (both ability and achievement tests) is to place people into categories, primarily in the areas of education and employment. Some of these resultant categories ("bright") convey benefits while other categories ("dull") convey harm to the individual. This harm is particularly insidious if the individual has been misclassified or "mislabeled" and as a result is denied equal opportunity under the law. Nonetheless, all three general kinds of tests have singlehandedly played an important role in the misclassification of many Black children into Educably Mentally Retarded (EMR) groups. Any resultant lack of compensatory education that the

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child otherwise might have obtained, thus, only further exaggerates the effects of a disadvantaged minority status in society.

In the eyes of constiutional law, it is -- interestingly -- indeed legal to track or classify students according to (valid) measures of "ability." It is, however, unconstitutional for tracking to be on the basis of race. That is of course precisely where the problem arises; there is a correlation between race and test scores. Legally, what the plaintiff bringing suit (i.e, someone who has been misclassified) must do is circumvent this correlation by demonstrating that classification, as a direct result of testing, was solely on the basis of race. The criterion applied is as follows: If the plaintiff can demonstrate that there is significant statistical disparity as a result of the testing procedure between the percent of the group (Blacks) in the classification category (EMR) versus the percent of the same groups in the total "test population," then this is prima facie evidence of discrimination by the test.

A recent court case of interest is Debra P. v. Turlington, a celebrated Florida case, the decision for which was handed down on July 12, 1979. This case challenged the denial of diplomas to twelfth grade students who had attended segregated schools for the virtual entirety of their education. The judge ruled that the failure rate on the literacy test in question was indeed the result of past discrimination, and that the use of the literacy test to deny high school diplomas to students who were subject to de jure segregation during the first years of their school careers would only perpetuate past denials of equal educational opportunity.

A second case of some importance was Larry P. v. Riles, the opinion for which was handed down in the fall of 1979. This was a California case in which Black students were disproportionately classified into EMR classes on the basis of IQ test scores. The court concluded that where the per cent of Black children in these EMR classes was more than twice the per cent of Blacks enrolled in the school district, then the validity of the test used to so classify the students becomes, in the eyes of the law, "suspect." The case is important because it established a criterion whereby one might conclude that disproportionate appearance of some group in an EMR track is sufficient evidence to invalidate the test. The case is also important for a second reason: Extensive testimony by psychologists, sociologists,

psychometricians, both "environmentalists" as well as "hereditarians," were used and cited in the case. It is one clear instance where methodological criticism of the validity of IQ tests as pertains to minorities was taken explicitly into account in a court case.

The final question remaining is, of course, why schools continue to insist on the classification of individuals into heavily stigmatized categories which clearly and explicitly diminish their educational and occupational training and opportunities.

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Black Families In The 1970's

Robert B. Hill

I. Introduction

The extent of Black progress was a dominant -- and controversial -- theme throughout the 1970's. Early in the decade, in fact, some commentators declared that Blacks had made such "enormous" economic progress that over half of all Black families were now in the middle-class.[1] Other analysts asserted that the "extraordinary" progress of Blacks suggested ". . . a virtual collapse of traditional discriminatory patterns in the labor market."[2] And still others argued that the economic gap between Blacks and Whites had narrowed to such an extent that class or economic background is now a more significant determinant of Black life chances than race.[3] Important segments of the news media regularly reinforced this belief in the "significant" economic progress of Blacks through numerous highly-publicized feature stories on the "new" and "rapidly growing" Black middle-class.[4]

However, at the same time that the "enormous" economic progress of Black families was being trumpeted across the nation, the news media and many commentators were decrying the "deterioration" of Black families based on their belief in a steadily increasing welfare-dependent "underclass." The sharp increase in the number of Black families headed by women during the 1970's was widely interpreted as the major contributor to the burgeoning Black underclass.[5] The soaring unemployment rates of Black youth (at a time when joblessness among White youth was declining) was the focus of many feature stories and research studies throughout the decade. Many analysts viewed chronically unemployed Black youth as part of a "permanent" underclass.[6]

Which belief is correct? Did Black families make "enormous" progress over the past decade? Or did Black families significantly retrogress? Did they do both -- or neither? And what is the outlook for Black families during the 1980's? We will now attempt to determine the factual basis for these beliefs by carefully examining the actual economic and social trends among Black families during the '70's and assessing their implications for Black families over the next decade.

II. The Illusion Of Black Progress

However, in order to properly assess the nature and degrees of mobility among Black families during the 1970's, it is essential that policymakers, media analysts, researchers and the general public are made aware of common pitfalls in research strategies and analyses that have contributed to the "illusion of Black progress."[7]

In fact, because of the widespread acceptance of popular misconceptions about the extent of Black progress, many Whites have been increasingly resistant to efforts toward racial equality in the areas of education, employment, housing and economic security. Since they do not believe that significant racial barriers currently exist, many Whites feel that equal opportunity has already been achieved and there is no need for special efforts on behalf of Blacks and other minorities. Thus, increasing numbers of Whites are charging "reverse discrimination" and are strongly resisting the use of their tax dollars for social programs on behalf of the poor and minorities. And, most significantly, growing numbers of legislators at the federal, state and local levels are supporting severe cutbacks in expenditures for jobs programs, social services, housing subsidies and other economic supports because they believe that unemployment has been significantly reduced and that Blacks and other minorities have made significant economic and social progress. For example, despite spiraling inflation and persistently high unemployment, many respected newspapers and legislators are opposed to increases in food stamp expenditures because they believe that poverty has been virtually abolished in America![8]

Thus, the controversy about the extent of Black mobility over the past decade is not merely of academic importance. On the contrary, widespread acceptance of "the illusion of Black progress" is having major political and economic consequences for the well-being of Blacks and other low-income groups in this nation.

Three of the research strategies that have contributed to popular misconceptions about the extent of Black progress have been:

(a) Focusing on the 1960's rather than the 1970's.
(b) Failure to assess the impact of periodic recessions.
(c) Focusing on individual rather than family mobility.[9]

A. Focusing On The 1960's

A major reason for different conclusions about the extent of Black progress is the use of data from different time periods. Most of the studies heralding a significant improvement in the economic situation of Blacks are based on data from the 1060's rather than the 1970's. There is no question but that Blacks made significant social and economic gains during the '60's -- especially during the latter half of that decade.

During the second half of the '60's, Blacks made major social and economic advances in employment, income, education, voter registration, home ownership, election of public office and in the reduction of Blacks in poverty.[10] For example, between 1963 and 1969, the unemployment rate for Blacks plummeted from 10.8% to 6.4%, bringing the number of jobless Blacks down from 864,000 to 570,000 -- its lowest level in modern times. At about the same time (from 1964 to 1969), the ratio of Black-to-White family income narrowed from 54% to 61% -- the smallest gap between Black and White families since racial income data were first collected by the Census Bureau. Similarly, by 1969, the number of Black families below the official poverty level (1,366,000) declined to its lowest level in recent times.

Thus, the statistical evidence is unmistakable -- Black families did make very significant economic progress during the 1960's. But what happened to these advances during the 1970's? This brings us to the second deficiency in many research analyses of Black progress -- the failure to systematically assess the impact of periodic recessions on Black mobility.

B. Omission Of Impact Of Recessions

It is surprising to note that the impact of recessions is just as likely to be omitted from research studies of Black progress by economists as well as from research by sociologists and other social scientists. In reading most studies of Black progress or Black family "deterioration" over the past 30 years, one would never know that this nation had experienced a succession of at least six recessions (1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-71, 1974-75, and 1979-present).

Each of these recessions, however, disproportionately undermined the social and economic gains of Blacks. Before Blacks had a chance to recover from one recession they were subjected to another. As the Census Bureau's comprehensive overview of Black progress from 1790 to 1978 revealed, economic recessions historically eroded Black advancement:

> The Great Depression substantially diminished some of the gains [by Blacks] made in the first three decades of the 20th Century. For example, during the 1930's, the growth of the [B]lack labor force was severely curtailed . . .
>
> The Census Bureau began collecting income information by race on a continuous basis in 1947. Since then, there has been overall moderate income growth for [B]lack families, interrupted by several recessions. From 1947 to 1969...the most pronounced upgrading (36% increase) in the income levels for [B]lacks occurred during the period of 1964 to 1969. Increases were noted during the 1947-53 and 1959-64 periods; however, little or no progress was made during the period from 1953 to 1959 as a result of the 1953-54 and 1957-58 recessions.[11]

Consequently, an adequate assessment of the extent of Black progress during the 1970's must incorporate a systematic analysis of the impact of two recessions (1969-71 and 1974-75)--in all of their "last hired, first fired" implication--on Black family structure, functioning and mobility.

At the same time that Blacks were disproportionately affected by periodic economic recession, they were also disproportionately subjected to soaring inflation. According to classical economic theory, it is impossible to have high levels of inflation and recession simultaneously. But, apparently, no one has informed the American economy of this "fact." On the contrary, while the total number of unemployed persons in this nation jumped by 82% (from 4.3 to 7.8 million) between 1973 and 1975, the cost of living soared by 21%. And by the end of the decade, two-digit inflation has become virtually a fixture of this economy. Thus, proper analyses of Black progress must assess the disproportionate impact of inflation as well as of recessions on Black families.

C. Focusing On Individual Mobility

A third practice of the proponents of "significant" Black progress is to focus on the economic advancement of Black individuals rather than of Black families. This has been most

evident in several studies highlighting dramatic economic gains of Black women relative to White women and, to a lesser extent, of Black men relative to White men. Without question, analysis of the economic gains of Black and White individuals is clearly a legitimate and important area of investigation.

However, such studies go beyond legitimate bounds when the mobility of individuals is erroneously used as a proxy for inferring the mobility of family units. For example, most studies of occupational mobility in the U. S. have been invariably based on data confined to men. The exclusion of White women from mobility studies may have had some historical justification, since the overwhelming majority of White families in the past had only one-earner -- a male. But Black families always have had a strong two-earners tradition. And Black women have continually comprised about half of the total Black labor force. Thus, studies of the occupational and earning mobility of Black men alone are unreliable and invalid indicators of the actual extent of economic mobility in the total Black community.

Moreover, since the surge of White women in the labor force has transformed the majority of White families into two-earner households, there is no longer any reasonable justification in using the economic mobility of White males as the sole proxy for the mobility of White families. Furthermore, studies focusing on male mobility over-estimate the actual extent of economic mobility in the U.S., since the occupational and earnings mobility of women invariably lags for behind that of men.

It is also erroneous to infer that because the earnings gap between Black and White individuals may have narrowed, that there has been a similar narrowing of the gap between the incomes of Black and White families. Individual mobility is not necessarily translated into family mobility. In short, if one wants to make generalizations about the progress of families, then family households and not individuals should be used as the unit of analysis.

III. Employment Trends Of The '70's

A. Unemployment Patterns

We will now examine the employment patterns of Black family heads during the 1970's. The number of unemployed Black family heads almost tripled (from 122,000 to 343,000) between 1969 and 1978, while their unemployment rate more than doubled (from 3.5% to 8.3%). Although unemployment among White

family heads also rose over the decade because of two recessions, the increase was not as great as it was among Black families. While the number of jobless White heads of families almost doubled (from 631,000 to 1,457,000), their jobless rate went up from only 1.7% to 3.6%. Thus, the jobless gap between Black and White families widened from 2.1 to 2.3 -- one of the largest gaps of the decade.

Families headed by Black women were, apparently, one of the most severely impacted groups by the two recessions, since they experienced the largest increase in joblessness among family heads over the decade. In 1969, only 38,000 or 5.6% of all Black women in the labor force heading families were unemployed, but by 1978, five times as many (195,000) Black women family heads were jobless, with their unemployment rate soaring to an alarming high of 15.4%. At the same time, unemployment among Black men heading families doubled (from 84,000 to 148,000), raising their jobless rate from 2.9% to 5.2%. On the other hand, the jobless rate for White female family heads rose from 3.6% to 6.6% between 1969 and 1978, while the unemployment rate for White male family heads only went from 1.5% to 3.5%.

B. Employment Patterns

However, although unemployment among Black families rose sharply over the past decade, the number of Black family heads with jobs also increased. The total number of employed Black family heads increased 4% (from 3.4 to 3.7 million) between 1969 and 1978. Interestingly, all of this increase in employment occurred among Black female heads of families, since employment declined among Black male family heads over the decade! While the number of Black female family heads with jobs jumped by 68% (from 637,000 to 1,069,000) between 1969 and 1978, the number of Black male family heads with jobs fell by 3% (from 2,766,000 to 2,698,000).

These opposing patterns of employment were largely due to the fact that the proportion of Black families headed by women sharply increased from 29% to 39% over the decade, with a concomitant decline in the proportion of Black families headed by men. But these patterns also reflect the greater surge of women in the labor force during the 1970's. This can be seen in the similarity of the employment patterns among White families. While the number of employed White male family heads remained virtually unchanged (at 35.3 million) between

1969 and 1978, the number of White female family heads with jobs soared by 61% (from 2.0 to 3.2 million). There was also a sharp increase in the proportion (from 9% to 1%) of White families headed by women over the decade.

C. Occupational Patterns

To what extent was the increase in employment in Black families reflected in upward mobility in jobs? There was indeed an increase in the proportion of Black family heads in higher-paying and higher-status jobs--among both males and females. In 1970, the proportion of all Black family heads in higher-paying jobs, such as managers (2%), professionals (8%) and craft (9%), was 19%. By 1978, the proportion of Black family heads in those jobs (managers - 4%; professionals - 10%; and craft - 9%) rose to 23%. Among Black female family heads, the proportion in higher-paying jobs rose from 14% to 17%, while the proportion of Black male family heads holding higher-paying jobs went from 24% to 28%.

There was also some increase in the proportion (from 16% to 19%) of Black family heads in moderate-paying clerical (14% to 17%) and sales (remaining at 2%) between 1970 and 1978. But almost all of this increase occurred among families headed by Black women (from 14% to 30%), since the proportion of Black male family heads in clerical and sales jobs remained the same (at 10%).

However, despite some increase in the proportion of Black family heads in higher-paying jobs over the past decade, the overwhelming majority of Black family heads today are in lower-paying blue-collar jobs. In fact, the proportion of Black family heads in lower-paying jobs (i.e., operatives, laborers, service and farm workers) declined from only 64% to 59% between 1970 and 1978.

Many recent studies purporting to show a sharp increase in the proportion of Black families in the "middle-class" have committed the common fallacy of equating white collar jobs with "middle-class" and most blue-collar jobs with "working class" or "underclass." Consequently, movement of individuals from blue-collar to white-collar jobs is most often characterized as upward economic mobility into the middle-class.

But the major error in placing all holders of white-collar jobs in the economic middle-class is that only a small minority of Black white-collar workers have "middle-income" earnings. Only

30% of all Black managers and 26% of all Black professionals in 1977 earned $15,000 or more a year, for example, compared to only 11% of all Black sales workers and 3% of Black clerical workers at such levels.

At the same time, these analysts fail to point out that even larger proportions of Blacks holding white-collar jobs make poverty-level wages. For example, 67% of all Black sales workers and 42% of all Black clerical workers had annual earnings under $6,000 in 1977. Similarly, 25% of all Black professionals and 29% of all Black managers had poverty-level earnings. In other words, there are just as many povery-level workers among Black professionals as there are (one-fourth) middle-income workers. Thus, one is no more justified in characterizing all Black professional workers as "middle-income" as one would be in describing all of them as "low-income."

Moreover, movement from blue-collar jobs to white-collar jobs should not be arbitrarily assumed to be upward mobility, since many blue-collar jobs have higher earnings than many white-collar occupations. For example, the proportion of Black workers earning $15,000 or more in 1977 was twice as high among craft-workers (22%) than among sales workers (11%). And the proportion of middle-income earners among Black operatives (10%) was just as high as that among sales workers and three times higher than among clerical workers (3%).

In short, many studies reporting a recent "surge" of Blacks in the economic middle-class--as a result of a sharp increase of Blacks in white-collar occupations--greatly exaggerate Black upward mobility because they erroneously include the movement of Blacks into low-income white-collar occupations as well. To more accurately assess the extent of Black upward economic mobility, such studies should restrict themselves to the movement of Blacks into jobs with middle-income earnings--whether white-collar or blue-collar. Therefore, we will now examine a more accurate indicator of economic mobility--income and poverty trends.

IV. Income And Poverty Trends Of The '70's

A. Income Gap

The widening unemployment gap between Black and White families during the 1970's led, as might be expected, to a widening of their income gap. In 1969, Black families had a median income ($6,063) that was 61% of White family median

income ($9,958). By 1978, the ratio of Black family income ($10,879) to White family income ($18,368) had declined to 59%. This widening income gap occurred in all regions, except the South. While the Black-to-White family income ratio remained at 57% in the South between 1969 and 1978, the gap widened in the Northeast (from 67% to 62%), the Northcentral region (from 76% to 72%) and especially in the West (from 75% to 57%).

Between 1969 and 1977, the income gap between Black and White families fell from 61% to 57%. Thus, it was only between 1977 and 1978 that there was some narrowing of this gap (from 57% to 59%). Yet, as was noted, the income gap by 1978 was still wider than what it was at the beginning of the decade.

This decline of Black family income relative to White family income is in part due to the sharp increase in multiple earners among White families during the 1970's, and the sharp decline in multiple earners in Black families. Historically, Black families had a higher proportion of two-earners than White families. But, between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of Black families with two or more earners fell steeply from 56% to 47%, while the proportion of White families with two or more earners rose from 54% to 57%. Thus, today, there are more two-earner White than Black families.

B. Impact of Inflation

What impact did inflation have on Black family income during the 1970's? Black families were disproportionately affected by the spiraling inflation of the '70's. While real White family income (adjusted for inflation in 1978 dollars) rose by 4% between 1969 and 1978, real income among Black families barely kept up with inflation -- rising by only 1%.

Most of the gains in real income among Black -- and White -- families occurred in families headed by men. While real income among families headed by Black women fell behind inflation by 3%, real income among families headed by Black men rose sharply by 22%. Similarly, although real income among families headed by White women declined by 1%, real income in families headed by White men rose by 5%.[12]

A major reason why the income in families headed by men was able to keep up with inflation was the sharp increase in working wives among both Blacks and Whites. While the proportion of working wives in Black husband-wife families rose from 53% to 60% between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of

working wives in White husband-wife families jumped from 38% to 47%. In fact, the presence of a working wife is becoming essential for Black and White families in order to achieve or maintain an economically "middle-class" standard of living.

C. The Black Middle-Class

How did the Black middle-class fare during the 1970's? To what extent, in fact, was there a surge in the size of the Black middle-class?

Before we can answer these questions, however, we must have a definition of "middle-class" that can be subjected to statistical measurement. Unfortunately, most of the controversy around this subject has involved vague references to various categories of Blacks such as "bourgeoisie," "structurally unemployed," or "underclass" without specifying the nature and size of such groupings. One can hardly document the significant advancement of Blacks in the middle-class if that group is ambiguously defined -- or not defined at all.[13]

As noted above, the most widely-used operational definition of "middle-class" is to include all persons holding white-collar jobs. But, as was pointed out, such a definition includes large numbers of white-collar workers with poverty-level wages. Movement into higher-status jobs, such as professionals, sales, managers, etc., does not necessarily mean movement into higher-paying jobs. Consequently, we contend that movement into a higher paying job -- whether white-collar or blue-collar -- should be used as the basic criterion for assessing upward economic mobility.

Therefore, we recommend the use of the economic criteria provided by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) three standards of living for families: higher, intermediate and lower. Each year BLS prepares -- and adjusts for inflation -- budget costs for "typical" urban families of four at three different standards of living. The estimated food consumption costs for families at the "lower" budget level, for example, are based largely on the Agriculture Department's emergency food plan for poor families, which the Department concedes does not provide nutritionally adequate diets for three-fourths of the families at that level. The intermediate or moderate budget level, however, more closely approximates the standards of living of the "average" American family. Therefore, the National Urban League Research Department regularly classifies all families with incomes above the BLS

intermediate level as "middle-income" or "economically middle-class."

In 1969, 24% of all Black families had incomes above the BLS intermediate budget level of $10,064, while 25% of all Black families had incomes above the BLS intermediate level of $18,699 in 1978. Thus, the proportion of Black middle-income families (adjusted for the impact of inflation) remained relatively unchanged at one-fourth. Similarly, among Whites, the proportion of middle-income families remained unchanged (at 49%) over the decade.

However, there was some increase in the proportion of upper-income Black families by the end of the decade. Between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of Black families above the higher BLS levels (of $14,574 in 1969 and $22,420 in 1978) rose from 9% to 12%. But this "rise" masks the fact that 12% of Black families had incomes above the higher BLS level in 1972 and 1973 -- before the onset of the devastating 1974-75 recession. Since that time, the proportion of upper-income Black families steadily declined to 9% by 1977. In other words, all of this increase in the proportion of upper-income Black families really occurred over a one-year period (between 1977 and 1978) at the end of the decade. Since a new recession began in 1979 and is expected to worsen in 1980, it is very likely that there may be some shrinking of the proportion of middle-income and upper-income Black families at the beginning of the decade of the '80's.

D. Poverty Trends

At the same time that Blacks are said to be surging into the middle-class, the proponents of significant Black progress also contend that there is a growing -- and permanent -- Black underclass. In order to account for these divergent trends among Blacks, the theory of two Black societies has emerged and received widespread media acceptance. According to this notion, at the same time that the economic gap between Blacks and Whites is narrowing, the cleavage between the Black middle-class and underclass is widening. Has the number of low-income Black families increased or decreased during the 1970's? And to what extent is there statistical evidence to support this theory of a widening economic cleavage in the Black community?

Unfortunately, it has not been easy to verify the validity of the notion of a growing Black underclass because of the failure

of many analysts to clearly define the composition and size of this "underclass." Since there is at least consensus that poverty-level and welfare families are part of this grouping, we shall examine those patterns among low-income Black families.[14]

Black Underclass

There was indeed a sharp increase in the number of poor Black families during the 1970's, while the number of poor White families went down. While the number of poor White families declined by 2% (from 3,575,000 to 3,523,000) between 1969 and 1978, the number of poor Black families rose by 19% (from 1,366,000 to 1,622,000). However, since the total number of Black families increased just as fast, the proportion of all Black families that are poor remained unchanged (at 28%) throughout the decade. On the other hand, the proportion of poor White families declined from 8% to 7% between 1969 and 1978.

Because of the sharp rise in the number of Black families headed by women, they accounted for all of the increase in the number of poor Black families over the decade. While the number of poor Black families headed by men fell by 34% (from 629,000 to 414,000) between 1969 and 1978, the number of poor Black families headed by women soared by 64% (from 737,000 to 1,208,000). However, because the total number of Black families grew faster than the number of poor Black families, the proportion of poor Black families headed by women went down from 53% to 51%, as did the proportion (from 18% to 12%) of poor Black families headed by men.

In short, if one uses the number of poor families as an indicator, there is strong evidence to support the assertion that the number of Black families in the underclass has significantly grown over the past decade. However, using the proportion of poor families as the base, one would have to conclude that the percent of underclass Black families remained unchanged throughout the '70's. This latter conclusion also lends support to the notion of a permanent -- and unchanging -- underclass among Blacks.

To what extent do welfare trends among Black families correspond to these poverty patterns? There was indeed some increase in the proportion of Black families receiving public assistance during the decade. Between 1969 and 1977, the proportion of all Black families receiving welfare rose from 18% to 23%. While the proportion of male-headed Black families

receiving public assistance declined from 10% to 7%, the proportion of female-headed Black families on welfare increased from 38% to 46%.

It should be noted, however, that these data strongly contradict the popular belief that the majority of Black families are dependent on public assistance. Despite two devastating recessions during the 1970's less than one-fourth of all Black families -- and less than one-half of all Black families headed by women -- were on public assistance by the end of the decade.

On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of both male and famale-headed Black families depend on earnings and not welfare as their primary source of income. By 1977, 91% of male-headed Black families and 68% of female-headed Black families relied on earnings income. Unfortunately, this was a decline from the beginning of the decade when 93% of male-headed Black families and 73% of female-headed Black families depended on their earnings.

Many analysts attribute the increasing poverty among Blacks to the rise in the number of Black families headed by women. This assertion is only partly true. A more accurate explanation for the rise in poverty is the increase in the number of Black families headed by unemployed women. Black families headed by women are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain meaningful employment. In fact, as was noted earlier, Black women heading families are three times more likely to be unemployed today (15.4%) than they were (5.6%) at the beginning of this decade.

The disproportionate poverty status of families headed by Black women is primarily related to their unemployment status. Only 27% of employed Black women heading families were poor in 1977, compared to 75% of unemployed Black women heading families. THus, the chances of Black women family heads being poor continue to be only one out of four when they have jobs, but their chances of being poor are three out of four when they are unable to obtain work. Thus, there is a vital need for intensive government efforts to provide female family heads with meaningful job opportunities in order to prevent thousands of families from falling into poverty.

In sum, there is strong evidence to support the view that the number of low-income or "underclass" Black families has increased over the past decade, while the proportion of low-income Black families has remained relatively unchanged.

However, since the proportion of middle-income Black families remained virtually unchanged during the '70's, there does not appear to be strong evidence for the notion of a widening economic cleavage in the Black community.

V. Social Trends Among Black Families

The heightened economic insecurity from two recessions and record-level inflation had some important consequences for the functioning and stability of both Black and White families in America. One of the most visible manifestations has been the rise in the number of one-parent families due to divorce and separation. Between 1969 and 1978, the total number of divorces in the U.S. almost doubled (from 639,000 go 1,128,000).

A. Single Parent Families

Contrary to popular belief, families headed by divorced or separated women increased faster among Whites than Blacks. The number of families headed by divorced or separated women increased twice as fast among Whites (by 121%) between 1969 and 1978 than among Blacks (by 65%).

Moreover, while the number of families headed by widowed White women declined by 3% between 1969 and 1978, the number of families headed by widowed Black women rose by 15%. But, most significantly, the increase in families headed by single women was five times greater among Blacks (257%) than Whites (57%).

A disproportionate amount of the increase in single parent families was due to a sharp increase in out-of-wedlock births among both Black and White young women over the decade. While the number of out-of-wedlock births by Black women increased by 49% between 1969 and 1977, the number of out-of-wedlock births by White women rose by 35%.

It should be noted, however, that because of overall declining fertility rates to all women, the total number of live births to White women declined by 10% between 1969 and 1977, while the total number of live births to Black women remained about the same (at 543,000) over that period of time. In other words, the number of out-of-wedlock births among both Black and White women grew at a much faster rate than the number of in-wedlock live births. This is why in several cities, such as Washington, D. C. and Chicago, over half of the total births of Black women are out-of-wedlock.

The increase in out-of-wedlock births is greatest and most severe among teenagers. While the illegitimacy rate among Black women 15-19 years old rose from 90.6 to 93.3 for every 1,000 unmarried Black women in this age group between 1969 and 1977, the illegitimacy rate among White women 15-19 years old increased ten times as fast, from 10.0 to 13.6 for every 1,000 unmarried White women in this age group. Nevertheless, the illegitimacy rate among Black teenagers is still more than six times greater than the rate among White teenagers.

Moreover, contrary to popular belief, the overall illegitimacy rate has been steadily declining among Black women, while steadily increasing among White women of child-bearing age. While the illegitimacy rate among Black women fell by 7% (from 90.6 to 84.5 per 1,000 unmarried Black women of child-bearing age) between 1969 and 1977, the illegitimacy rate among White women rose by 2% (from 12.5 to 13.7 per 1,000 unmarried White women of child-bearing age). But, once again, it should be noted that the overall illegitimacy rate for Black women is still six times greater than it is for White women.

The sharp increase in unwed teenage mothers among both Blacks and Whites clearly indicates a vital need for more intensive family planning efforts as well as preventive sex education programs. One of the concerns about the increase in out-of-wedlock births to young mothers is the extent to which such families become habitually dependent on public assistance.

Contrary to the popular belief that Black families that receive welfare remain on public assistance, Black women heading families are less likely to receive welfare the older they are. Less than half of Black families headed by women under 25 are on public assistance, compared to about one-fifth of Black families headed by women 55 years and over. Most significantly, Black teenage mothers are least likely to be on welfare. Since the overwhelming majority (85%) of them live in extended family households, they often have to move away from relatives in order to qualify for many social services. Such insensitive and anti-family policies should be modified in order to reinforce and strengthen the informal self-help supports to teenage mothers provided by relatives.

B. Family Strengths

A proper overview of Black families during the 1970's must examine their strengths as well as their weaknesses. In 1971, the

National Urban League Research Department issued a monograph entitled The Strengths of Black Families. That report focused on five positive attributes that characterized the majority of low-income as well as middle-income families: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, flexibility of family roles, strong achievement orientation and strong religious orientation. These five factors have continued to be major determinants of stability and advancement among low-income and middle-income Black families during the 1970's.[15]

Strong Kinship Bonds

Perhaps the most influential factor over the past decade has been the Black extended family. Relatives provided many forms of mutual assistance during the hard economic times of the '70's. This was reflected in the sharp increase in "doubling-up" or the moving in of female-headed families into the households of relatives during the 1974-75 recession. Between 1973 and 1975, the proportion of Black children living with their mothers in the households of relatives jumped from 30% to 39%.

According to conventional wisdom, the extended family is supposed to have virtually disappeared from the American scene. Not only has this family form not become extinct among Black families, but there was a strong revival of the Black extended family during the 1970's. While there has been a sharp decline in the number of Black families from different generations living in the same households, the vital support provided by relatives living in different households has not diminished.

For example, the proportion of Black children informally adopted or absorbed into the households of grandparents, aunts and uncles, and sisters and brothers increased between 1970 and 1978 from 13% to 15%. Thus, there are about 1.4 million Black children living in extended family arrangements today. And this does not include the millions of Black children who reside for shorter periods of time, with relatives who provide low-cost day care services for parents who are working, temporarily ill or institutionalized.

Moreover, as the study, Informal Adoption Among Black Families pointed out, by providing informal day care, foster care and adoption services, Black extended families have been instrumental in enhancing the social and economic well-being of thousands of Black families. For example, many teenage mothers would not have been able to finish their schooling -- and

many older single parents would not have been able to work -- had it not been for the concern and support of relatives.[16]

Furthermore, during a decade when child abuse has been rising sharply among White families, the extended family network appears to be reducing its impact in the Black community. Since low-income and minority families are over-represented in official statistics on abused and neglected children, it is widely-believed that Black children are more likely to be abused than White children. But systematic studies of child abuse have revealed that child abuse is more likely to occur in White families than in Black families living in similar or worse economic circumstances. The extended family serves as a buffer against child abuse, since a potentially neglected or abused child is often removed to a more wholesome environment. However, child abuse is more likely to occur in families that are isolated from relatives. Thus, child abuse and neglect in the Black community during the '70's was lower than would have been expected on the basis of its greater economic deprivation because of the extended family.[17]

It is important to note, however, that the Black extended family has never been restricted to blood relatives. It has always included "fictive kin" or close friends who perform such roles as "granny," "auntie," or even "mother" or "father" more effectively than natural kin. Such fictive kin increasingly belong to Black extended family networks in urban and northern communities where families may live far distances from relatives. Furthermore, scholars such as Harriet McAdoo have clearly shown that extended families not only enhance the functioning of low-income Black families, but middle-income families as well.[18]

Work Orientation

Despite two recessions and spiraling inflation, the work commitment of Black heads of families did not decline over the past decade. The sharp rise in female-headed Black families, for example, is commonly believed to be due to an increase in women who are not looking for work. But the fact is that these women are more work-oriented: the proportion of Black female family heads in the labor force rose sharply from 51% to 56% between 1969 and 1978. Or, conversely, the proportion of Black female heads not working and not looking for work dropped from 49% to 44%.

In addition, the American public still does not fully realize that welfare is the last resort, and not the first, for the overwhelming majority of Black families. This is why over three-fourths (77%) of all Black families and over half (54%) of all Black families headed by women today do not receive any public assistance. Moreover, contrary to popular belief, half (45%) of all poor Black families are not on welfare! Very little interest has been shown in determining why over 700,000 Black families that are economically eligible for welfare do not receive any public assistance. Some of these poor families, as noted earlier, are being unjustly denied vital social services because they live in extended family households. But closer observation reveals that the strong self-reliance of many of these poor families cause them to receive economic support from relatives and friends rather than from public welfare agencies.

But there was one subgroup in Black families that experienced an extraordinary amount of job discouragement during the 1970's -- Black youth. The persistent unavailability of jobs forced many Black youth who want employment to give up actively seeking it. Thus, there was a marked decline of Black young men in the civilian labor force (i.e., either working or actively looking for work). Between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of Black men, 18-19 years old, in the labor force declined from 63% to 60%, while the labor force participation rates of Black men, 20-24 years old, fell more sharply from 84% to 78%. At the same time, the participation rates rose among White men, 18-19 (from 66% to 73%) and among White men, 20-24 (from 83% to 87%).

Some commentators contend that the persistent high unemployment levels among Black youth are primarily due to educational deficiencies. But research studies consistently refute the notion that lack of education is the primary factor, since job opportunities are greater for White youth with lower educational attainment. White high school dropouts have lower unemployment rates (16.7%) than Black youth with some college education (21.4%) and about the same jobless rates (16.5%) as Black college graduates.[19]

Role Flexibility

All American families experienced greater flexibility and interchanging of roles during the 1970's: mothers assuming some of the traditional roles of fathers; fathers performing some of

the traditional functions of mothers; and children performing parental functions. This increased role flexibility and adaptability was most evident in the growth of families headed by women who were the primary breadwinners of their households.

Traditionally, families headed by women have been characterized as "broken," "disorganized" or "pathological." In fact, statistics related to female-headed families are often simplistically used as "proof" of the "disintegration" of Black families. But it is erroneous and unwarranted to prejudge the functioning or cohesion of a family solely on the basis of the number of women heads of households.

On the contrary, many research studies have revealed that: (a) two parents do not make a family intact any more than having one parent makes it "broken," and (b) that many one-parent families are more intact than many two-parent families. These findings are reinforced by the fact that children are running away faster from "intact" two-parent families in the suburbs than "broken" one-parent families in the inner-cities. Furthermore, there must be some lack of cohesion in many two-parent families, since about one-third of them end in divorce or separation. Thus, the cohesion of a family is determined by the quality and intensity of the relationships among family members and not by whether or not a father is present in the home. Because families are headed by female breadwinners is no justification for presuming their inability to function effectively.

On the other hand, there appears to have been some diminution in the traditional equalitarian sharing of roles in Black families as Blacks have moved up the educational and economic ladders. The enhanced occupational role of Black women has led to greater tension in male/female relationships, especially among the middle-class. Many higher-educated Black women observe that many Black men are resistant to adopting equalitarian role patterns. As a result, there was a sharp increase during this decade in conferences, workshops and publications designed to enhance the sensitivity of Black men and women toward one another.

Achievement Orientation

The strong achievement orientation in Black families was evident in the sharp increase in high school graduation and college enrollment among Black youth during the '70's. As the

proportion of high school dropouts among Black youth, 18-24 years old, dropped from 33% to 25% between 1970 and 1978, the proportion of Black youth graduating from high school rose from 44% to 48%.

Moreover, while only 35% of the Black high school graduates in 1970 went on to college, 42% of them went on to college by 1978. Thus, the proportion of Black 18-24 years old in college rose from 15% to 20% between 1970 and 1978. However, among White high school graduates, there was a decline in the proprotion going to college (from 50% to 45%) between 1970 and 1978. Thus, Black high school graduates are just as likely as White high school graduates to go on to college today.

This strong achievement orientation of Black youth is just as prevalent among those coming from one-parent families as it is among those coming from two-parent families. Contrary to patterns among White youth, research studies have consistently found that Black youth from one-parent families are just as likely to go to college as youth from two-parent families. These findings provide further evidence against the popular presumption of the negative functioning of families headed by women.[20]

Religious Orientation

Since a religious orientation or perspective is not readily amenable to quantitative measurement, it is not possible for us to be precise about its influence on Black families over the past decade. Nevertheless, it appears that the Black church continues to play a major role in Black communities across the nation. Each Sunday it continues to attract the largest number of Blacks at one time. In some communities, cutbacks in funds for social services and community action agencies have led many Black churches to assume their historical role as a key provider of social, psychological and economic support to Black families.

Moreover, the Black ministry continues to be in the vanguard of the struggle on behalf of Blacks: Rev. Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Rev. Jesse Jackson, President of Operation People United to Save Humanity (OPERATION PUSH); Rev. Joseph Lowery, President of The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Rev. Leon Sullivan, Chairman of Opportunities Industrialization Commission (OIC), etc. However, this leadership is increasingly being shared with growing numbers of Black elected officials.

Overall, it appears that the religious factor has continued to exert the same influence on Blacks it has for decades.

VI. Summary

Some of the highlights of our analysis of the economic and social trends among Black families during the 1970's are summarized as follows:

1. The strong economic gains of Black families during the 1960's were eroded by two recessions, record-level inflation and the "benign neglect" policies of the Nixon-Ford Administrations.

2. The unemployment and income gaps between Black and White families widened during the '70's. While the unemployment gap between Black and White heads of families widened from 2.1 to 2.3 between 1969 and 1978, the ratio of Black to White family income fell from 61% to 59%.

3. Families headed by Black women were one of the most severly impacted groups over the past decade. Five times as many Black women family heads were jobless in 1978 (195,000) than in 1969 (38,000), with their jobless rate soaring from 5.6% to 15.4%.

4. Many studies reporting a recent "surge" of Blacks in the economic middle-cless -- as a result of a sharp increase of Blacks in white-collar occupations -- greatly exaggerate Black upward mobility because they erroneously include the movement of Blacks into low-income white-collar occupations as well.

5. The proportion of economically middle-class Black families did not significantly increase during the '70's, but remained relatively unchanged. One-fourth of all Black families had incomes above the Labor Department's intermediate levels in 1978 and 1969.

6. There is some support for the notion of a growing -- and persistent -- "underclass" among Black families. While the number of poor families among Blacks increased by 19% between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of poor Black families remained at 28%.

7. But we found no support for the belief in a widening economic cleavage in the Black community, since there was no increase in the proportion of middle-class or low-income Black families.

8. Black extended families continued to provide vital services in such areas as day care, foster care, adoption and preventive child abuse to one-parent and two-parent families as well as to middle- and low-income Black families.

9. Black families continue to be characterized by five strengths: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, flexibility of family roles, strong achievement orientation and strong religious orientation.

VII. Forecasts For The 1980's

What is the outlook for Black families over the next decade? Based on our analysis of past and current trends, we offer the following forecasts:

1. Since the current recession is predicted to worsen in 1980, it is very likely that there will be at least two recessions during the '80's. Such recurring recessions will undoubtedly mean a continuation of disproportionate high levels of unemployment among Black workers.

2. Slow job expansion can be expected to generate increased competition for jobs from such emerging groups as White women, Hispanics and Asians. Between 1974-77, Blacks obtained only 5% of the new jobs in private industry, while over half (53%) went to White women, 26% went to White men and 12% went to Hispanics.

3. The number of Blacks in higher-paying and higher-status jobs such as managers, professionals and crafts should reach all-time high's over the next decade. But the continuing soaring inflation is expected to erode the living standards of many middle-income as well as low-income families.

4. The proportion of Black families headed by women will continue to increase, but their adaptability and

capacity to function effectively will be significantly enhanced.

5. Extended families will continue to play influential roles in providing vital social and economic support to middle-income and low-income Black families.

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The Black Experience In Politics

Howard N. Lee

Introduction

I'd like to use this time as an opportunity for us to chat together informally about the Black experience in politics. I will throw out some ideas, thoughts, and concepts which you may want to pounce upon. Let me make it emphatically clear that I am not here as an expert; one, I don't believe in experts. Number two, there is no such thing as an expert on the Black experience in politics, or politics in general.

I'd like to share with you a recent event which reflects upon Blacks and politics. A few weeks ago, I had the responsibility of going into Charlotte to meet with a group of leaders in the Black community. I suppose a comment made by one of the persons attending that meeting might very well sum up what the general feeling is among Blacks toward the whole political process. She asked me point-blank: "Do you realize why most Blacks believe in Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny and don't believe in politics and politicians?" Obviously I had to plead ignorance, and she said, "That's because Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny deliver; politicians don't." For a moment I was taken aback; I finally could not allow her to get away with that, and I said, "Yes, but you still have to pay Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny, and that's what politics is all about."

In politics it is paying. "Paying" is in the form of votes; it's working in the vineyards; it's working in the campaign; it's choosing that individual with whom you have a fair amount of experience, and giving him or her your full support.

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I think in order to get a full view of the Black experience in politics, we have to talk about it on two levels. We have to talk about the elected officeholder and we have to talk about the worker -- the campaign worker who goes out, who organizes, and who gets the vote. So we are really talking about it from the elected officeholder point of view and from the organizational, grassroots activity point of view. Finally I would like to challenge you as social workers as to what your experience ought to be, and what responsibilities you have as people who are supposedly change agents in our society, (in your various communities) who are responsible for delivering services.

First, let's talk about the Black politician, because if you measure the Black experience in relation to the Black politician, there have obviously been disappointments as well as some satisfaction and success. There have been some failures as well as some accomplishments. The Black politician is probably the most pressurized politician in the world. Now folk will say to me -- and I, honestly, from time to time, will say to myself -- well, I am a politician and that's honestly what I'd like to see myself as: a politician who happens to be Black. It's nice to say that, but if I am honest with myself, I am different; I have more pressures on me; I have more responsibilities in that office. I am generally the first-line pioneer, and what I do is either going to determine the opportunities that other Blacks may have in following me, or it's going to shut the door in the fact of many of those who may follow me.

Generally, politics is based on how many votes you can get; so, as a politician, you back up and look at how many people are going to vote. You determine what their attitudes are toward the political process, and then position yourself to appeal to the greatest majority. Now the majority of people in our society are White; the minority are Black. Generally, the attitudes among the two broad groups and the things in which they are interested are different. The White politician, like the Governor, for example, will say: "Now where is the attitude of most Whites in the state?" If they are to the left, he positions himself to the left; if they are to the right, he positions himself to the right. Then he measures, in relation to that, "Where are the Blacks?" He determines where to position himself to get the majority to the White votes and as many of the Black votes as he can. If somebody has to be sacrificed, the realities of politics say you sacrifice the minority. That is the hard-nosed, practicial, political process. Now take the Black politician: me, for an example. When I go out, I have to say: "How can I get the

greatest number of votes?" I can't start with the majority, because if I do, I'm going to lose the minority. Yet, I've got to be smart enough to know that I can't position myself totally with the attitude of the minority, because if I do, I'm not going to get any White votes. If I don't get enough of the White votes to go with the Black votes I'm getting, I'm not going to be elected. If I don't get elected, then there is no such thing as a Black political experience. So I have to -- as a Black politician -- hope that I can get 100% of the Black votes, and with that 100% Black votes, get enough White votes to make a majority. There is no politician in the world smart enough, good enough, or broad enough to get 100% Black votes, get enough White votes to make a majority. There is no politician in the world smart enough, good enough, or broad enough to get 100% of any vote; so there is a very thin line along which the Black politician has to move. This calls for a sort of tolerance within the Black community toward the Black politician -- an understanding of the need to establish a position of appeal to the majority as well as to the minority -- otherwise the successes that should be expected by the Black politician are not going to be there. I will come back to how that is done when we talk about issues.

Even serving in my currently appointed position I have to carry with that position a level of sensitivity toward the Black community. But, if I let that level of sensitivity toward the Black community overshadow my total responsibility, then I lose the support of the people who are responsible for my being there -- in this case, the Governor -- because I will alienate some of his friends, and his friends will say, "If you don't get him in line or get him straightened out, then I'm going to withdraw my support for you." So there has to be a very tight walk here.

For the Black politician, the Black experience in politics is a constant struggle of trying to communicate with the Black community without alienating both the Black community and the White community. People often tell me: "You are no different than the White politician." That's not true. I have a dual leadership role. When I was Mayor of Chapel Hill, Blacks from Durham used to call on me all the time, and I used to get calls from all over the State of North Carolina, because it just so happened that I was the only Black who was a mayor in this entire state. And being visible, I had to be as responsive to the Blacks in Charlotte as I was to the Blacks in Chapel Hill, and at the same time, not forget my responsibilities to the total Chapel Hill community as the mayor who was elected by the people there. Thus, a key role of the Black politician is one of providing dual leadership. This is why I often say to the Black preacher,

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"You are still the politician. You are still the person who has the obligation and responsibility for political leadership within the community."

Financial support: The Black experience in politics is based on finances; economics. No economics, no finances, no politics. The Black experience has been one of paying its politicial debt through delivering votes.

The general format of politics is to make a big campaign co..tribution. When you weigh to whom you are going to be the most responsive, you look at the financial column. If one of you here made a $3,000 contribution, and another person made a $10 contribution, when it comes to handing out the patronage, I'm going to give the $3,000 contributor the first choice at the cream of the crop: jobs. Give me the money, and I can get the votes generally, because through the persuasion of television, newspaper, and radio advertisements, I can generally get the votes that would be needed.

The Black experience in politics up until the last five years has been we have not made financial contributions to political candidates, nor to the political campaigns that would generate attention to us. During the last five years, and especially this year, more money has been generated out of the Black community toward campaigns -- including the current campaign for the Governor -- than probably totaled that of the last ten years within the state. So the sophistication among Blacks and Black leaders now is one of understanding that, yes, it is important to deliver the votes, but it is also probably more important to deliver the finances and get some commitments.

Exchange Game: Another experience within the Black community has been to forgive and give away. The worst person in the community, whether that person is Black or White, can decide to run for political office, and Blacks will generally not remember the past experiences of that person. They will tend to react to the immediate, to the now, to the present, and they will give that person support and not get anything in exchange. Now politics is a game of exchange. If I'm going to give you my vote, if I'm going to work for the Governor of the State of North Carolina for another four years, I want it understood up front that I expect some things in return for my work when he gets re-elected. Now that return can be paving my street; it can be giving me jobs to which I could appoint people; it could be giving me support for the next political office for which I run. It could be any number of things.

The Black experience has been one of saying you must be nice to people, you wait till they get elected, and then you go with your hand out and ask for support. The sophistication now, I think, is saying to Blacks -- as it says to anyone who has been politically successful as an ethnic group -- that you have an understanding up front. Regardless of who it is -- whether it is a Black politician or a White politician who comes and asks for your support -- you're supposed to find out: (1) if you agree with what that person stands for; and (2) if you can depend on that individual. Make sure you have your laundry list to put in the hat early, so that when that person gets in office, you can feel that you are getting something in return.

Patronage: Politics is based on patronage. If you look at state government, city government or county government, and you try to take a rating on how many minorities (and up to this point it has been women) are placed in high-level policy positions at various governmental levels, you are going to be hard-pressed to find them. The reason you're going to be hard-pressed to find them is that we didn't deal in the patronage system. I'm not where I am because I am a good guy; I like to think I'm good. I'm not where I am because I'm the most qualified; I like to think I'm as qualified as anybody. But I hold the position I hold because of pure, honest-to-goodness, raw patronage: the Governor had to pay me off.

I use that phrase with the tape recorder on -- so that it isn't taken out of context. The fact of the matter is tht every Cabinet Secretary in Raleigh, every Cabinet Secretary in Washington, every high-level person is put there because that person has a political following, and you keep your political support and following based on patronage. So in looking across this state, until this year, every key person that I talked with in the last four years -- except in one or two cases -- is a key person. Let me provide an example. If I hire you from Charlotte, there are five key supporters of the Governor to whom I have to talk, to make sure they don't have anything against you, and that they don't blackball you from the political process; if they do, I can't hire you. If I hire you against their wishes, they leave the campaign. If they leave the campaign, we've got to go find somebody else in Charlotte who's going to do the same thing.

Until this year, Blacks never dealt in patronage. You will find in the Carter Administration and in the Hunt Administration, as you would have, to some extent, in the

Holshouser Adminstration, but not much -- and not any at all in the Scott Administration, you will find that there are more Blacks and women in high-level positions, totally, than would have been the case totally prior to 1977 in the State of North Carolina; I cannot speak for Washington. That's because the Black experience now, in politics, has started to dictate that you have to become more political. And as you become political, you ensure that the jobs are filled with Blacks and with women. Women are not being placed in high-level political positions because somebody thinks you need to have a women there; the reason you need to have a woman there is because women are so politically strong. So patronage has become a part of the Black political process, which had not been the case in the past.

Question: Why haven't Blacks been involved in political patronage in the past? I believe Blacks previously believed that politics was dirty.

I've heard that, from time to time, as I've moved around, and folks have said to me, "Well, you know, the reason Blacks have not participated in the political process is because we haven't had any past experience on how to participate in the political process." That makes me think that they must not have been inside a Baptist church, because that, to me, is the hardest, dirtiest, strongest, most direct politics I think I have ever experienced in my entire life. They politic in the Baptist church. The institution which in fact provided the leadership for the Black experience politically was always found basically within the church, the preacher. He was the person who generally spoke not only for the community, but he was the person to whom the White politician turned.

We have reached a point of sophistication by believing that there is no such thing now as a Black surviving in and of himself or herself. I can't survive if I lose confidence and trust in the Black community. If I take money from the Government or from any other politician for working in his campaign, I lose my claim to ask him for anything when the campaign is over, because he paid me off up front. If I don't take the "green" and say I want the right to call some shots after the campaign for a lot of people -- not just for me, and that's what I mean by paying off -- then I have the ability to open up opportunities for many others.

What we have now is a different level of sophistication, first of all, among the masses, a highly educated group of Blacks, a

more sophisticated group of Blacks, a more sensitive group of Blacks. My parents were not educated, so they believed the preacher. You are educated so you have reached the point of sophistication where you can analyze the political process yourself. You're not going to believe everything I say; you're going to question me, and until I satisfy you, you're not going to commit yourself to do anything I say. So in the last five years, I think we've seen a process of more Blacks coming back south, having worked in the hard vineyards of northern politics and the political process, being well-trained; a better educated group of Blacks staying in the south and not leaving to go north; and a political system which now has to be more responsive to the number of votes being generated from within the Black communities for or against the candidates.

Question: What's been the impact of the Voting Rights Act in terms of Black voter education and registration? This has been powerful in opening up new doors for Blacks.

You're exactly right; that's the educational process, in addition to formal education. I don't know if Blacks still view politics (and this is part of the Black experience) today as dirty inasmuch as so many people -- Black and White -- have lost confidence in the total political process and politicians in general. We are living in a time where the Black experience in politics has led us to a better understanding of the political process. Most Blacks don't see it as being repulsive, but now that Blacks have come to understand the political process, they have also fallen into the syndrome -- as have most people -- of believing that you can't trust the process. Politicians are no good, and you're not going to get anything; it's not going to make any difference in your life.

The Electorate: Let me ask a question here. If I asked you to describe whom you would perceive to be the non-voter or the person who does not participate in the political process, whom would you describe as being that person?

Group Response: The Black elderly. Black youth. Those not in the cities with voter registration programs. Even some intelligent, middle-class Blacks.

But you would think that most of the non-voters in our society today, based on population percentage, would be Black, but mostly the uneducated Blacks? Wouldn't you think that -- not educated, uneducated?

The non-voter is basically well-educated, has an average degree attainment of a master's degree plus, in middle-class, generally married, between the ages of 30 and 45, has an average income of $45,000 to $55,000 per year, lives in the suburbs, has a boat, owns two cars, goes to the beach, travels to Europe at least once every two years and lives the good life. What I am saying to you is that there is a psychological trend that is still plaguing the Black community through its political experience that we have not yet been able to shake.

That trend is that (1) Blacks could not participate in the political process; (2) Blacks got the vote after the Civil Rights fight, the Voting Rights Act, the education programs, and the increased rolls; (3) the rolls were purged which meant that many Blacks who got on the rolls didn't vote; therefore, they were purged off the rolls due to a lack of voter activity; (4) we went through a second phase of voter education activities to get more Blacks back on the rolls; and (5) we have now reached the point to where the voting trend among Blacks is starting to go down again. The point is, at one time, we could not make a difference -- even if every Black went to the polls and voted: and that wasn't too long ago, either. Then there came a time when we increased and started to make a difference. That point came at a time when we increased and started to make a difference. That point came when more Blacks were being elected as mayors, as legislators, as county commissioners, and so on. Now we have reached another point to where we are not making the great difference we can, but we are making a great difference in politics. The Black experience has now led us to this point, however apathetic you may be, whatever lack of confidence you may have; there is an ever-increasing number of Blacks, males and females, who are being elected as mayors.

In 1969, I was one of eight Blacks who were serving as mayors in the entire United States, and one of three who served as mayor of a predominately White city. And, I was the only one who served in a predominately White town in the South. Today, there are in excess of, I believe the last count was, 290-some Black mayors of all-sized towns. The legislative population has increased in Alabama, has increased in Mississippi, Georgia, and so on.

Now the Black experience in politics -- let's come back to North Carolina -- has been, and this is my first challenge to you as social workers, to respond at two levels in the political process: To elect people to office and to participate in party activities. Until John Kennedy ran for President, Blacks

belonged to the Republican Party; you could count on it one hundred percent. Since John Kennedy, basically, Blacks have belonged to the Democratic Party; you can count on it one hundred percent. Those are the symbolisms of politics. When you elect somebody to office, that is the result of political activity. When you participate in the party, that is something you can touch and you can feel.

Politics for the next ten years in North Carolina will be decided in 1981: how it will go, who will particpate in it, and how they will participate in it. It's called the census and redistricting. In 1981, the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina will draw lines for Congressional Districts, for Senatorial seats in the State House, and for Representatives' seats in the State House. They will affirm that through voting in the General Assembly in or about May of 1981, and that will stand for ten years. For ten years we will be locked into that political process. The Black experience has been -- even in 1981 -- to be locked out of that political process, because it doesn't start next year; it is going on right now.

One of the difficult things to get people to do is to take the census. Where are the Blacks in your community? What are the districts in your community now? Most Blacks can't tell you how many counties are included in a representative district; even those who are politically active can't tell you. Suppose I took a poll right now and asked what counties make up your Congressional District. I suspect you could tell me because you're sitting in this room. But what counties, for example, make up the Fourth Congressional District? Who can tell me? Chatham, Durham, Wake, Randolph; that's the Fourth District. It used to be Wake, Orange, and Durham until 1970, when a dummy by the name of Howard Lee made a speech and said, "In 1972, I'm going to run for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District." Orange County was in the Fourth District that could have elected me to Congress in 1972. I remade that speech a hundred times from 1970 until 1971, and at the last minute, at 12:00 midnight preceding the vote, Orange County was moved out of the Fourth District into the Second District. This pitted me against L. H. Fountain, who had been in Congress for twenty-six years.

What I'm saying to you is, that as social workers or people who are in the social process, you have an obligation to understand the political process. You carry a level of credibility within the Black community and among the clients with whom you work. You need to understand where the political line is drawn. Your whole success depends on politics.

The Black experience in politics has led us to be accused of making up the majority on the welfare rolls, which is not true. And, it puts the Black politician in the position of almost having to defend the welfare program. The Black experience in politics puts me in the darnedest crossfire you have ever seen. I have a low regard for what we have done to welfare in this country, but at the same time, I can't kick it because it provides a livelihood for too many young children, families, and older people who couldn't survive any other way.

Our welfare system creates dependency, not independence. The political process has designed itself to make sure that that happens. And, until welfare clients start to vote, they will always be subjected to a very poor program that does not offer the kind of escapism which, I think, is so key to any human survival, and which would create a climate at which people can be kept.

Even when welfare reform programs come along, they are questionable programs. We've just finished with one, called "Welfare Reform," using Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) money coming through the Labor Department. The program was designed to put people to work. That's what it says, to put people to work. No choice, just go to work; and if you don't go to work, then we are going to find a way to penalize you. No one in his right mind, if he or she were simply put on a job, would keep that job. I choose what I want to do; you choose what you want to do. There is no element of choice in CETA, but that's not the worst of it. Understand, now, that the three counties which were chosen in North Carolina were Nash, Wilson, and Edgecombe. Just last week, the county commissioners of Nash, Wilson and Edgecombe have voted--voted to <u>not</u> accept the Welfare Reform program in their communities. That's after they spent over a quarter of a million dollars last year planning for it, then voted not to accept it. The unfortunate thing is that Blacks generally as a group do not monitor or attend county commission meetings. In this case, they're held at night; in most cases, they're held at ten o'clock in the morning, when most self-respecting Blacks are at work, so they don't know what the county commissioners have decided. So those decisions are made and are never communicated in the Black community.

Dr. Lawrence Gary made a point this morning about publishing and writing. One of the key problems which has come through in the Black experience in politics has been the lack of communication, the inability to communicate. Today you can

take a poll among Blacks, exclusively, and you'll find that less than fifty percent know Howard Lee. I'm supposed to be the most popular Black in the state. You can go out and use the name Howard Lee and most Blacks don't know that I'm Black. I was surprised, I was shocked as a matter of fact, and I was rudely awakened when I started running for Lieutenant Governor. I'd walk up to a group of Blacks and say, "Hi, I'm Howard Lee, and I'm running for Lieutenant Governor." They would say, "Who are you?" That is kind of shameful, because how are we ever going to be able to encourage the younger Blacks who are coming along? How are they ever going to feel that they have a chance to be a part of the political process and can take their rightful place in this system? So I am urging a great deal of publishing -- of newspapers, of magazines, or whatever.

Tomorrow, there will be a meeting in Fayetteville of the North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus. How many of you have heard of it? How many of you participate in it? We will go to that meeting, those of us who are active, and there will probably not be many people there. One of the frustrating experiences which will come out of that meeting, unfortunately, is that the same issues will be hashed over and over again, and there will probably not be much progress toward organization. One of the major keys to politics is organization. If there is no organization, there is no political success, none whatsoever. One of the great problems that's plaguing Senator Kennedy's campaign right now is no organization. One of the great things that is helping President Carter (who keeps hiding in the White House) is organization. And, Ronald Reagan is probably the most organized of all the candidates in terms of having an organization.

The Media and Blacks:

Question: There is a lack of publishing opportunites for Blacks, though much research still needs to be published. We still have to deal with White publishers. Is there a group or an organization that you know about that can provide technical assistance with this?

That's another point that I was going to make. There has been an unfortunate development among Blacks, and I don't quite know how to state this. We have kind of clustered ourselves into little groups. I think Dr. Audreye Johnson has probably come closer to making the effort to break down these barriers than

any other single person. The Black academic community, for example, will go off and have a meeting. How many of you know the Black who is a member of the Journalism faculty here at UNC? Generally, he will have conversations with people at North Carolina Central University or North Carolina State University, but they don't generally meet together. We who are in politics generally meet together. You who are in social work will usually meet together. The preachers will meet together; I just met with a group of them last week. We cluster into little groups, and we meet. When we come together, we are like bureaucrats in government. We each come with out defenses up so as to protect our own little territory. If you are not a preacher, you ought not try to tell the preachers what to do. If you are not a politician, you ought not try to tell us -- who knows all there is to know about politics -- what to do. And, if you are not out there in the community everyday as a social worker, then you don't understand how difficult it is to reach all of those Blacks out there who don't believe in the political system.

I recently met with Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, of Duke University, who wrote the first book on the Black Muslims in America. Dr. Lincoln was a professor of mine at Clark College, and three weeks ago he and I sat and talked, and I had a real awakening. This morning was the first time that I've heard someone verbalize it as directly and as up-front as Dr. Gary did about the impact of publishing on politics. Dr. Lincoln and Dr. David Bishop, who was also a professor of mine in history and who is at North Carolina Central, have both been on my back, believing that we need to foster a publishing house, because too many young Blacks are coming out with works that are not sufficiently popular now to be taken on by the majority publishing houses. Now the fact of life about this is economics, pure and simple economics. The women's movement is the most popular right now, so you go with the women's movement. When the Black movement was popular, you published Malcolm X, you published the Muslims; but nobody is buying those books right now.

Our concept is to meet with a couple of foundations which have expressed an interest and try to establish a publishing house that is specifically geared to publishing works by Blacks. We would look at those works that may not be acceptable to the conventional publishing houses because of their lack of popularity. We believe that a small press could take some risks that a big press would not take, particularly if that small press had foundations behind it. To answer the question, to stimulate this is our hope. We want to be able to see something develop

along these lines fairly soon. It's unfortunate that Ebony, Jet, and Black Enterprise don't seem to be in a position to respond to talking about those major issues that deserve so much examination. Of course, again the name of the game is economics. The majority of the Blacks want to see Sammy Davis, Jr; they don't want in particular to se Louis Stokes. They don't want to read about Louis. Andy Young is a little popular right now -- but once Andy dies down, they won't want to read about Andy or Maynard Jackson, or any of the people who are in politics. They love reading about Sammy Davis, Jr., and Teddy Pendergrass.

Question: But there seems to be no immediate gratification for being involved in politics. If I vote for Howard Lee, what do I get tomorrow, immediately? . . What is being printed and televised are those Blacks who are in entertainment and sports. Accomplished Blacks who are in politics don't get the exposure and press like the entertainers and the athletes. It almost seems to be a conspiracy.

Let's examine that. The power of the press is so potent that you can't imagine its influence. If The News and Observer came out with a headline -- and they could very well do that -- "Howard Lee Suspected of Fraud," there is nothing I have to combat that. Nothing. Now that's impact; you don't have to be Black for that to have an impact on you, I'm not suggesting that one bit. I am just simply suggesting that the political process is tied into many different things. There are no Blacks in the board room of The News and Observer, and there is no Black publication to take on The News and Observer. There are no Blacks in the board room of The New York Times. There are no Blacks in the board room of The Chicago Tribune. There are no Blacks sitting on the board of Channel 5, WRAL -- the only reason I get good play there is that I happen to be a good friend of the owner. The survival of the Black politician, and you have no alternative, is to make doggoned sure that you're ten times cleaner, that you're three times smarter, that you can make friends with people a lot faster, and that you can carry yourself in a manner so as not to lose their confidence. Keep in mind that, as a public figure, as a politician, I have got to balance on this tightrope to keep the friendship of Channel 5, run the risk of suspicion because Jesse Helms was once connected with Channel 5, and keep the support of the Black community; because once I lose that, I will have no further use for Channel 5, because I won't have any population over here to support me. The balancing act is unreal; it is unreal.

When we talk about immediate gratification, the unfortunate problem we have is that we don't have a means to give Blacks immediate feedback on the political process. If you could get some immediate feedback on what happened yesterday in the General Assembly, it would make a difference.

Have you ever asked why Dr. King was so successful? It wasn't that Blacks were ready to go out and fall behind Dr. King. It wasn't that Blacks were even ready to go on the streets and march for civil rights or equal rights. It was that Rosa Parks got on a bus down in Alabama and did what every Black in his soul and heart wanted to do, and they heard about it fast. Dr. King was able to spot that T.V. camera; he figured that they didn't have anything to put on television. They had a mass meeting in Montgomery. Remember, television was coming on at 12 o'clock in the day and three o'clock in the afternoon: Blacks received immediate feedback. When Blacks got hosed in Selma, you heard about it in Durham. When Blacks were arrested in Greensboro, you heard about it that night in New York. When the lady acted crazy here in Chapel Hill, you heard about it in Raleigh so you were really getting that feedback.

How many read The News and Observer in the morning? Most Blacks generally don't make the front page of The News and Observer, unless it's Andy Young who had just been fired by the President of the United States. The only time Andy Young made the front page of The News and Observer was when he did something that was uncomplimentary to his position and to him as a person. The News and Observer hadn't played up a Black on its front page since Clarence Lightner's wife was put on trial. The newspaper can warp the minds of people. It can be printed in the morning, and by night, you can take a poll in the Black community, and my support will have eroded by 90%. The media can destroy a Black politician whenever it wants. The Black experience in politics must lead us to understand that there are three other areas in which we have to concentrate simultaneously, and they are, in this order: education; economics; and communications. Without politics, education, economics, and communications, all of the civil rights gains, all of the public officeholders, all of the integration in education, all of the accomplishments up to this point will be built on sand and not on rock.

Politics At Work: Let's talk a little bit about politics and the costs to the Black community, because this is the bottom line. This year I awarded a contract to a Black architect by the name of Harvey Gantt in Charlotte. It's the biggest single

contract that's ever been awarded from state government to a Black: $298,000.00. The average contract which goes out of state government on any given basis is generally $2.9 million. When you take a look at who gets the contracts, you're not going to find any Blacks. In effect, because economics gives a sense of independence, most right-thinking politicians are going to ask for contracts when they give their support to somebody.

The Department of Commerce is probably the least integrated department of all of state government; and I mean all. Most Blacks don't look at the Department of Commerce. Every decision relating to utilities, every decision relating to your insurance, every decision related to where industry goes and who is involved in selecting that industry is made in Commerce. There is one industrial park in the entire State of North Carolina; that's in Durham under the auspices of United Durham, Incorporated. Industrial parks make more money than any other single land investment activity anyone could put his money into. Keep in mind, I'm talking about costs to the Black community. Dr. Gary and Dr. Robert Hill just touched upon this cost issue very lightly this morning.

When I became Secretary of Natural Resources, I found within my department that I had a grant coming from the Department of Interior for seven million dollars a year, for matching local recreation grants. Politics cost the Black community, during the integration days, practically every swimming pool in eastern North Carolina. If you look across eastern North Carolina as a whole, you will find that there are only about a half-dozen swimming pools for the public, but there are private swimming pools coming out of your ears where Blacks can't go swim. If you look at where recreation has been placed in most communities , it has been away from the Black community. I found that not one dime had ever been put in the Black community through that recreation fund when I came into office. In my Division of Forestry -- and I'm just taking one division now, to give you some idea of the costs of politics either to or from the Black community -- in my Division of Forestry, I have two million dollars a year to spend on rural fire departments. Any little town, settlement, or community can apply for a grant, get the money to buy a fire truck, to build a fire station, and then to operate it for a while. Not a dime of that money had ever gone to a Black community. Princeville and Greenevers became the first ones to get it.

Taking it one step further in the Forestry Division, any person who owns land, and most Blacks own land, can come to

the Division of Forestry and be given what we call tree seedlings. They give them to you. Now most folks will work out a little deal with a politician to not only give them the tree seedlings, but arrange to get the heliocopter to come over and plant them. Do you know what I mean by that? You don't have to plant trees by hand anymore, but most Blacks don't know this, so when they come to Forestry, they are told, "Oh, we'll give you millions of seedlings." You take those million seedlings and start planting--by hand--those tree seedlings. There is a heliocopter with a mechanical devise that has a special gun on it that can put those tree seedlings in it and shoot them in the ground. They can plant acres in a day.

In my Division of Environmental Management, more than $250,000,000 is available to support water and sewer-type activities. Sewer permits are in my department; water concerns are in the Department of Human Resources. When I came into office, I found that most local governments were taking the sewer pipes up to the Black community but not sewering the Black community. In every case, I froze money to the total community until they got the problem worked out. It cost some of them their sewage system because they would have to go back and redesign. This is politics.

Politically, most Blacks didn't even know who the mayors were in the towns, much less the fact that they were considering putting in a sewage system. In Jacksonville, North Carolina, there is an area called Georgetown, a settlement in Onslow County where, many years ago, the city built a landfill in the Black community and then shut the landfill down. There are wells in that area that have been contaminated for at least five years, and we found that the water the people were drinking is poisoned. The local government did nothing about it, the county did nothing about it, and even the State of North Carolina did nothing about it, because these were poor people.

Now that brings me to another point that I think must be emphasized. Blacks are visible; we're easily identifiable. We have had as much attention as most other ethnic groups, including women. We have been able to develop a level of sophistication. But then you reach a point where it becomes socio-economic discrimination. One day I had meetings going on in my building with two groups, the problems had been described to me by my staff, and I was running between meetings. I had never seen the groups. I just presumed that when I walked in the room, I was going to find two Black groups. When I walked in the

room, one was a group of poor Blacks, and one was a group of poor Whites. The Blacks were the ones drinking the poisoned water in Onslow County; the Whites were drinking water that was so laden with iron that they dipped a plate in the water and it had come out as brown as your jacket, just from being in the water a few minutes. They were drinking it. Neither one of these groups of people is what you call political. When the problems are not politicized, the problems are not going to be solved.

You are social workers. You work mostly with people who are either poor, under some kind of stress, or have some other general problems. Most of these people have given up hope. Most of them just don't care anymore, and most of them have just thrown up their hands in despair. In many instances, when you touch the lives of these people, you may be the last person who can bring them any kind of hope. Your obligation and your responsibility go far beyond just what you do as a part of the casework activity on a day-to-day basis. As Blacks who are working in the social arena, you are impacted more directly by political decisions than most other professions, except possibly teachers. Your salaries depend on political decisions; your fringe benefits depend on political decisions. How much expense money you have depends on political decisions. What training money you have depends on political decisions. You ought to be able to carry to sessions with your clients not necessarily a discussion of politics or candidates, but at least try to carry to that session a sense of understanding to those persons, so that they can be pointed in a direction where they can do something for themselves. You ought to be able to think of something in their lives based on your involvement, where they could walk into City Hall, or walk into the County Courthouse, or walk into an office that is political, and come out with at least some hope that it is not totally against them.

I think the Black experience has been an interesting one. Those of us who are fortunate enough to be in office have learned a lesson early. You cannot racialize issues, you cannot racialize problems, for when you do, you do an injustice to yourself and the people you purport to serve. When I was Mayor of Chapel Hill, I never racialized a single problem. I never said that the housing problem in Chapel Hill was a Black problem. I simply said that Chapel Hill had a housing problem, and that we would start with the worst to solve that problem, and it just so happened that the worst was in the Black community. I never said that we were going to pave the streets in the Black

community, but that we were going to pave Chapel Hill streets under a planned program, and we would start with the worst streets. It just so happened that the worst streets were in the Black community. In most instances, that to me is what Blacks ought to be asking politicians to do: solve the worst problems we have. The Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Legislature may not be able to pave the streets in the community where you live, but by golly, you know the Mayor, and you can speak to the Mayor. Make no mistake about it, I can call your Mayor in Charlotte, Eddie Knox, and say, I sure would appreciate it if you would do something for such-and-such a community. He may not want to, but he knows sooner or later he's going to come back to me with something, and when he does, I will have to reciprocate based on his reciprocation to me. And that's the way the game is played; that's politics.

You as a social worker ought to know what's happening in City Hall. You ought to know what's happening that will affect your clients. You ought to know what the county commissioners are thinking. You ought to know what the federal government is thinking because, believe me, when President Carter finishes with the budget, the people who are going to be hurt the most are the people who have the least political voice and who are on the low end of the totem pole, and that's generally the people who are your clientele--in job training programs and so on.

Summary

The Black experience, I have to say from my own perspective, can probably be summed up simply by saying that it's keeping the faith, it's keeping your spirits up, it's believing in the future in the face of limitations. It's knowing reality says that you can't become President of the United States because you happen to be Black, but still believing that through enough hard work, you have an obligation to prepare for it. Maybe you can't become Governor, but you have an obligation to keep acting like you can become Governor. Maybe you can't go any further than you have gone, but you're obligated to think you can go further, and you're obligated to tell the people with whom you're working that you can go further. Maybe you won't get immediate feedback, but believe that what you are doing today is in fact going to make a difference tomorrow.

The Black experience in politics, as far as I'm concerned, ought to be grounded in three basic areas. First, it ought to be grounded in a process of communication and organization,

getting a group of people to sit in your house and think politically. However small that group is, even if it's just a group of friends taking a group of people to City Hall, to a City Council meeting, or sitting in the county commissioner's chambers, but being visible, really visible. The most difficult votes I ever cast in my life when I was Mayor were when there were folks sitting in the audience looking at me. The second, it seems to me, must be grounded in the active politician. Guys like me, who--while we may rise above simply being seen as Black leaders--must never forget that we have an obligation to share the new experience we're having with people who did not have a chance, but who made it possible for us to have a chance. I know that I am a pioneer; there has never been a Black who has been Secretary of a department in the State of North Carolina, so I don't have anybody to pattern after. But, I have an obligation to say to folks who happen not to be there, to a youngster in college, or to a kid in high school that, by golly, here's the way you get ready for it; but more importantly, to the adults who are sitting out there right now, here is what you can come after. Here are the grants, here are the contracts, here are the business opportunities, here are the jobs, and we are prepared to make sure that you have your share of the pie, too. The politician who is serving, who happens to be Black, who does not cut himself off from the Black community, accepts a dual responsibility and performs a dual role.

And then, of course, this is a process of reaching the young. College students in general are no longer involved in politics; they don't have a cause anymore. The cause in the 1960's was civil rights; in the 1970's, it was the Vietnam War; in the 1980's, there is no cause. Somehow, we have got to reach the Black college students especially and try to find a way to give them a cause, because they will move more into the mainstream of society as many of you have than was the case with many who went before you. They are being trained in predominantly White universities as here at UNC. They are moving away from the Black community early. They are being exposed more early. They are understanding more early. They are having greater experiences early. The tendency could be to escape, never go back; once you're out. There is a good life out here that many of us didn't know about. That steak tastes pretty doggoned good, although I still hope I don't ever forget how to eat chitterlings. I've discovered caviar, but I still want a pig foot now and then. That's what I mean by not cutting yourself off, not being ashamed of from whence you came, being proud of from whence you came.

The one thing you learn to do as a Black in politics is to meet people where they are. Do not pass judgment, and learn how to laugh. I was campaigning in New Bern when I was running for Lieutenant Governor, and I saw this seventy-year-old White man coming toward me. As he got near, I walked up to him, shook his hand, told him that I was running for Lieutenant Governor, and I wanted his vote. He said, "Now before I commit to you, you better know something about me. I'm a George Wallace supporter, I've been a member of the American Party, and I'm kind of stuck in my old ways. But I've been reading a lot about you, and they tell me if we've got to have one, you're the best one we can have." I could have read that many ways; I read it that he meant Lieutenant Governor. The thing that I suppose I learned from that experience is that, number one, I could laugh at it, which says that Howard Lee had grown to accept people, and not to make snap judgments. I had become so comfortable with myself that I no longer had to be defensive. And even though he may have meant "Black," I could read "Lieutenant Governor." The other thing is that I met this man where he was as opposed to expecting him to come to where I was. He expressed a feeling, he expressed a growth that was tremendous for him, and I could meet him there, and from that point we could proceed. I would daresay that I suspect if he voted, he did vote for me, and I suspect I may have been the first Black he had ever voted for for anything in his entire life, but it was because we could proceed together. I could have turned him off or I could have helped him open up more. It was my intent to help him open up more.

We who are social workers are blessed with a special skill. We're in this position because we are blessed with a special attitude, and the one thing we ought to hold above anything else--whether it's in politics, in the social process, in our day-to-day work or interaction with colleagues--is that we're supposed to understand human behavior, and help people take a realistic view, and be in control of themselves and their destiny, and have the right to make their choices, whether it's to vote on election day or stay at home.

Black Family Life and Life Styles

Harriet Peat Trader

Introduction

It is difficult to present a sound perspective on this topic in a short article of limited space. First, there is the danger of generalizing to such an extent that one's observations have little validity. Second, there is the persistent problem of either romanticizing or defending the Black family -- neither of which will be done.

The material on which this discussion is based was taken from a recently completed study of Black adolescent "addicts." Here 100 Black families talked in a very personal way about their struggles to survive. While the major focus of the study was to present the struggles for survival of some young Black people who were using and misusing drugs, the study also sought to determine the kind of support available to these young people from their families.

The perspective for this study is firmly rooted in the new Black ethic. There can be no debate as to whether such an ethic exists. One cannot either personally live in a Black family or professionally work with contemporary Black families and raise such a question. One knows that it is! For most, this is sufficient, for an integral part of this "new" sense of Black pride is also a pervasive sense of urgency. It is as if, once having accepted one's ethnicity, there is so much to do and so little time in which to get it all done. As one Black psychologist has suggested, "tomorrow arrived this morning for Blacks today."

At this particular point in history, the major thrust for a healthy and creative survival for Black families must be developed first within the Black community itself. But it must not and cannot stop here. The goal is for full participation within the total economy. Yet, the Black community has keenly felt its "separate society" existence for many years long before the Kerner Commission report documented for the larger society, that Blacks live in two separate societies, one White and one Black. An increasing sense of Black identity has developed out of this ghetto existence of the Black community. There is no pretense here that the Black community is a unified one or that Black people are a monolithic group, nor that they need to be. It does seem apparent, though, that during the past decade there has been increasing clarity about those social structures which define the Black community as an ethnic society. Moreover,

practice wisdom notes that unity, community and self pride and a sense of peoplehood override the differences for the shared fate of the Black experience is a common bond.

Out of this new sense of ethnic group community has emerged a contemporary Black ethic which has no universal definition. Yet, several Black writers have described this ethic as one which is based on an authentic sense of social reality and one which confronts old patterns of self-defeating and self-debasing patterns of behavior. In addition, most Black writers agree that the purpose of this newly emerging ethic is not only to promote Black self-esteem, but also to facilitate the mastery of Blacks over their environment and to expand the control of Blacks over their own destiny. No matter how varying the definitions, it is the overwhelming views of many Black writers that this contemporary Black ethic clearly emphasizes the primary responsibilities of Blacks to their own ethnic group. To a large extent, then Black families will be viewed primarily in relation to the Black community but while the view can begin here it cannot end here.

The Family As Major Source of Survival:

"In the 1970's, for Black Americans, it is clearly a question of survival."

Samual Yette -- The Choice

The family itself was the only choice for survival, if there was to be any, for the overwhelming majority of the young Black people in this study. Without a doubt, they believed their families to be their strongest source of support. Their families, too, knew that they were the major hope for the survival of their young Black relatives. This is true no matter what form the family takes. It made little difference to either these young Black people or to their families whether it was one which included other relatives or non-relatives. Indeed, there were a few of these young people who had "adopted" families and called them their "play families." "Family" is heavily invested with deep significance for Blacks not only out of their historical past, but also as essential for survival in the reality of today. It came through clearly in their stories that there are strong emotional ties which bind these young Black people together with their families -- in a shared destiny.

This is the same Black family which has been described as "deteriorating," "a tangle of pathology" and recommended for

"benign neglect." Yet, the strength of these Black families came through clearly as they talked of their experiences with their young relatives. In interviews with these Black families, they revealed their hopes and frustrations.

It is crucial to emphasize here that the family interviews were not representative of any particular group of Black families, although they might be. There is value assigned to all the variations in family structure which exists in the Black community. All these families performed those functions for which a family is essential and the interviews focused on the reality of the family as it existed for these young Blacks. It was the family as the family felt itself to be and as the young people recognized and identified with them as "my family."

A Brief Literature Review of Descriptions of Black Family Life Styles:

A brief review of the literature reveals several major and distinctive characterizations of Black family life styles. First, there are writers who document that strong family ties remained even in the face of constant family separations due to the slave trade (Blassingame;[1] Genovese;[2] Gutman[3]). Billingsley[4] has cited the following features of Afro-American family life as not only characteristic of the 18th Century, but significantly a part of contemporary life (in only slightly modified form):

- -- Patrilocal residence
- -- nuclear family forms
- -- small family size
- -- husband/wife families with a small relatively stable and enduring pattern of female-headed families
- -- dual breadwinners

Billingsley found family life the center of African civilation with the extended family a permanent feature of life in Africa. A sense of community was an integral feature of African family life, and the community was perceived as an extension of the basic family unit. Despite the reference to the destruction of all African influences and significant features of organized family life, literature review suggests that there was a continuance of family life among the African people even during the slave era in this country. Thus, the importance of the extended family, the communalism, the important role of the grandmother, the collective responsibility for the care of the children, and the

adaptability of family structures were designated by Billingsley as prominent features of Afro-American family life even today. Robert Hill[5] discussed ". . . five major and distinctive features of Afro-American family life that have their antecedents in the African traditions." Among these were strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation.

Nobles[6] expressed the belief that the special form Black families take and the unique relational patterns expressed by Black families were determined by the sense of Africanity. For further clarity, Nobles stipulated that the sense of Africanity in Black families did not require the presupposition of a singular, monolithic, homogenous Black family type. A comprehensive cultural unity was discussed as historically characteristic of Black families.

Second, Thompson[7] spoke of the Black family as the ultimate Black experience. He labeled a strong, viable family as presupposing strong, reliable social institutions to bolster it. Additionally, he warned that the Black ghetto family has not had the necessary community support and could seldom depend upon sustained support from other community institutions. Further, Staples[8] posed the question relating to the type of Black family in the United States and concluded that the Black family was not monolithic since there were numerous differences in family organization and functioning within the Black community.

Third, Billingsley pointed out that the family included several sub-systems and the community also included within itself a number of institutions which were viewed as sub-systems -- schools, churches, newspapers, neighborhood organizations. Billingsley rejected the premise that the typical American family structure is either male-headed or female-headed and declared this a dysfunctional perspective for viewing Black families. He posited three general categories of families -- primary families, extended families, and augmented. He linked instrumental functions (economic function which provides for sustenance of the family) and expressive functions (sense of belonging, self-awareness and dignity).[9] Hill found kinship ties stronger in Black families as opposed to White families.[10]

Finally, even a brief overview of Black family life styles would be considered by some as incomplete if one did not at least mention the view of the Black family as matriarchal. However, Ladner[11] indicated that the so-called matriarchy was a myth because the Black family and the Black woman have

never functioned in the manner in which proponents of the matriarchy thesis propose -- a society in which some if not all of the legal powers relating to the ordering and governing of the family power over property, over inheritance, over marriage, and over the house are lodged in women rather than men.

Nathan and Julia Hare[12] congently expressed the historical plight of the Black woman who has occupied a peculiar position in American society. These authors focused on the leading role played by Black women in helping their race to survive slavery, and the label of aggressive and matriarchal perpetrated by White scholars as well as being designated as castrating females by Blacks.

Further refuting the theory that the matriarchal position created a special role for the Black woman, Staples[13] indicated that one finds no special status or authority associated with roles in the Black family. He suggested that contrary to theories about the Black matriarchy and the dominance of women, most research supports the fact that an equalitarian pattern typifies most Black families. In addition, the myth of the Black matriarchy has been reinforced by the failure of many students of Black family life to distinguish between the terms dominant and strong. The Black woman has needed to be strong to facilitate Black family survival, but she has not necessarily been dominant.

Kinship Roles: One View of Black Family Life Styles:

In addition to the formulations in the literature which have just been briefly discussed, the emphasis on family kinship roles is another way to describe Black family life styles. This is such a simplistic formulation that it may have little or no value in relation to families in general. Yet, for Black families these kinship roles are indeed significant. Four such kinship groupings will be briefly identified: (1) Mothers, (2) Fathers, (3) Grandparents and (4) Other Folks.

Mothers

It is certainly true that in a relatively high proportion of Black families, the mother is the head of the household. There is little doubt that where women bear the total responsibility for nurturance and maintenance that this is often stressful. The nature and quality of this stress, however, cannot be assumed simply from the fact that the mother is the head of the family.

In other words, families cannot be uniformly assumed to be dysfunctional simply because they are headed by a mother. The reasons for the father's "absence" are often pluralistic and complex. Therefore, one must look beyond the "single" Black mother's marital status in order to fully understand her feelings and behavior.

The young Blacks in the study talked most about their affectionate relationships with their mothers. They did not talk about feeling themselves as not belonging to a family simply because it is headed by a mother. This seems to be testimony to the capacity of many Black mothers who are heads of their families to provide some love and affection for their sons and daughters. It also seems safe to assume that most of these families headed by mothers keenly feel society's perceptions of it still as being deviant. To some extent, this criticism might well help to promote some inner family solidarity against the outside.

By contrast, all is certainly not well in the relationships which all of these young people had with their Black mothers who are the head of their families. As one listens to the hassles they get from their Black mothers, they seemed to be the same but yet different from those experienced by other youths. The disapproving messages which these Black mothers communicate explicitly and implicity is that the young person is causing the mother some "extra special" grief. It is as if because society has been experienced as a burden by most of these Black "single" mothers that there is a more acute sense of pain in feeling that her children who are misusing drugs have become another burden. It was also often a dilemma of guilt for these young Black sons and daughters because instinct and experience told them that society deals their Black mamas a "triple whammy" because of their drug usage. In addition, there often appeared to be some underlying and deep respect for these Black women who brought them into the world and were stuggling against tremendous odds "to raise" them. Hence, their response was sometimes flight from the family either to protect their mother, themselves or both.

Probably like most mothers and especially Black mothers who themselves have not had many opportunities, these mothers seemed to attach their last hopes for a better life to their sons and daughters. In their own words, two mothers reveal some of their deep feelings about their sons who are involved with drugs. The strength of some of the Black mothers' determination not to abandon their sons and daughters--no matter what--must have contributed to the survival of all of them.

Fathers

Black fathers, like Black mothers, have also often been victimized in this society by being forced to accept roles that society declares are inappropriate for other fathers. Too many studies perpetuate the myth that most Black fathers are carefree and irresponsible. By contrast, few writers have examined the role of Black fathers in relation to the plight of all Black people in this country. Too many conclude that the situation in which Black fathers find themselves is due either to some degree of pathology in the Black man himself or in the family unit which he has helped to procreate. Black fathers, like other fathers, carry their fathering roles and responsibilities in many different ways with varying degrees of satisfaction and effectiveness.

Unlike other fathers, Black fathers often find they are unable to fully carry the role of family protector solely because of being Black. In our society, the Black male still carries some mystical aura of being a symbol of threat: real or imaginary, physical or sexual. To the degree, then, that Black fathers are vulnerable to the effects of racism which impact especially on his role as family provider, there is a greater degree of urgency to identify the kind of supports Black men need and want. As the Black sociologist, Robert Staples, points out:

> Black males have suffered from irregularity of employment more than any other segment of the American proletariat. They are the last to be hired and the first to be fired from the menial jobs they commonly hold. Being in a weak economic position, they seldom have succeeded in becoming steady providers for their families so they can form a stable family unit.[14]

It is against this historical as well as contemporary economic and social reality that Black fathers must be viewed as they attempt to carry their roles and responsibilities of fathering.

Despite societal stereotypes which are overwhelmingly negative, there are Black fathers who not only love their families, but also provide for them to the best of their ability within the opportunities available to do so. The single criterion which has been used to a large extent to evaluate the Black father is the degree to which he is able to provide economic support for his family. This, of course, is an essential criterion but not the only standard used to judge other fathers. For all

families, emotional support or love and affection are also considered important not only for the children but also for the wife and mother. Why, then, should this additional criterion of the provision of love not be important for evaluating the quality of fathering by Black men? Certainly, Black families need emotional support no less than other families. In fact, a solid case might well be developed to substantiate that Black families need as much emotional support as they can get in order to help them fulfill the functions of the family in a racist society. In any event, both maintenance and sustenance are vital responsibilities for Black fathers to assume.

The fathers of the young Black people in the study portrayed the realities of their own struggles. For some, the struggles were primarily related to the need for economic security. However, there were some other Black fathers who having achieved either an adequate or a marginal degree of economic security were very much involved in providing the emotional direction their families needed. One such father talks about his nineteen year old son who was jailed for possession of heroin:

> Well, I've did just about as much as anybody else could. I don't have no way out. I feel kind of bad and angered by saying he did it, but I say it, what happened happened so that's how it is. I'm talking about everything. That cat made me mad. People around here know how low he stooped to do it, for what I don't know. To me it's out of his name. To be up in a cloud somewhere, don't make sense to me, it's out of his name.

Another Black father told a story of a sense of continued responsibility for his 19 year old son. His pride in the family name was quite evident. It was apparent that he was ashamed to have his neighbors know that his son was involved with drugs. There was a difference between the way that this Black father defined reality and his son's definition of reality. This was especially clear in how this father felt about the work goals that his son had set for himself and the manner in which he planned to achieve them. While being "a cook" might have been a work reality to the son, the father felt that it was unreal. Yet, it was clear that he knew that his son would have to make his own decision. The anger and frustration about his son's use of drugs also came through. In spite of this, one Black father ended the interview by expressing concern that his son would be "alright." It is these complex and often conflicting feelings which were

openly expressed, yet, based on a deep sense of family responsibility which seemed to contribute to Black family survival.

Grandparents

A discussion of Black family life styles would be incomplete without mentioning those significant family members who are indeed parents although not "natural parents." For some, this family life style was a matter of choice while for others it was the only way, therefore, survival meant "making it and making do." However, it did not mean a "lesser" form of family grouping in any way.

Grandparents were often viewed by some of the Black young people in this study as their advocate on the one hand and their "check-in" relatives on the other hand. Many talked of the need to report their activities, most often, to a grandmother. Though some of them were particularly close to a grandmother, few of them confided in her. They said they were "more embarrassed" about their grandmothers finding out about their drug usage than their parents finding this out. Some were "more comfortable" in their mothers knowing their faults. It was as if some of these Black grandmothers were seen in an idealized mother role.

Often there was the necessity for daily interaction with their mothers, but some choice about the amount of interaction with their grandparents. When they did seek out their grandparents, some of these young people seemed to feel some real necessity to present themselves in as positive a manner as possible.

While many of these young people talked about the positive quality of their relationship with their grandparents, they were also aware of how they fit into this. Some of these Black grandmothers were unwilling to give up the maternal role, thus, they were not too critical for fear of losing the love of their grandchildren. Some of these grandparents were living in separate households (mostly public housing projects) on marginal incomes. Although a few were receiving public assistance others were getting Social Security funds. The need for expanded emotional family ties seemed to be one of the main reasons that some of these young people talked about their grandparents with such feelings of warmth. Others saw them as too strict. However, grandparents seemed to be an essential part of the family.

Other Folks

It is fairly common in the Black community to find young people relating to close friends of their families as if they were "blood relatives." Thus, in reality the family does often include non-relatives. In some instances, the support provided by these "relatives" is economic as well as emotional. Sometimes these "relatives" are referred to as "play relatives" of "play family." In this "play family" the parental role was assumed and performed by individuals who "informally adopted" the adolescents in early childhood. In these instances, the adolescent may or may not actually live in the home of his adopted family but strongly identified with this family not only because of the love its members expressed, but also because of the financial support the "play family" provided.

Special Concern for the Lives of Poor Black Families

There is a sense that time is running out for all Black people and for poor Black families in particular. The family is a valuable resource for minority groups and an essential support for the minority person's survival in society. Although talk continues about the value of the family, there is still no national policy to operationalize any commitment to the family.

Two major and interrelated areas which deeply impact on poor Black families are the economic base of their support, of course, and the communities in which they live. First, many Black families have no alternative but to depend on public welfare programs as their only source of income; public welfare provides them with the means to exist. Yet, counting poor Black families poses some problems. The policies that provide initial identification of those who might be eligible for public welfare affect not only potential recipients but also those who are excluded. As a New York Times headline pointed out, "Finding the Poor Has Become a Tricky Task." The article noted that determining ". . . how to count the nation's poor has become the touchiest issue in the debate over plans for the 1980 census . . .[and that]. . .although the last full census, in 1970, found 97.5 percent of all Americans, the 2.5 percent it missed included a disproportionate number of poor.[15]

The difficulty of finding and counting the poor in general and the Black poor in particular is compounded by disagreement about the criteria for describing poor Black families. It is possible that the poor Black family does not fit within any single

description. The categories that catalog human beings according to the eligibility requirements of public welfare overlook the diversity of Black families that live in economic poverty, and, thus, contribute to the invisibility of many families warehoused in Black ghettos across the country. Nevertheless, newspapers, magazines, scholarly journals, and even numerous research studies recognized the existence of only those poor Black families who are on public welfare rolls. As recently as 1976, for example, Levitan and Taggart expressed the opinion that ". . . with improved income, employment and education, [B]lacks have been able to improve their living conditions and socioeconomic status though relative gains have in some cases been marginal."[16] Other studies may have been closer to the truth. The Black Economic Research Center found that

> . . . most of the non-cyclical improvement in the relative income of non-[W]hites was due to inter-regional shifts of the non-[W]hite population. The relative income of the non-[W]hite population has deteriorated since 1959 in the North East and North Central regions, has deteriorated since 1960 in the West, and has improved since 1960 in the South.[17]

According to the center, the overall economic condition of Blacks has deteriorated in many crucial ways.

The disagreements over these relatively objective indices of income and numbers of families are serious enough, but they are mild compared to the controversies that emerge when the understanding of poverty goes beyond the narrow view that it consists primarily of a lack of sufficient income. The area of disagreement widens considerably if one accepts the definition of poverty proposed by Barnett and Hefner that views not mere low income, but

> . . . the lack of freedom and the absence of choice as the correct measures of poverty. Such dehumanizing degradation and dependence are perpetuated by a vicious circle of social, economic, political, psychological, and educational forces -- forces that have a dynamic and casual interrelationship that impact directly and heavily on the ghetto.[18]

It is obvious, therefore, that the policies responsible for counting certain Black families as poor and including them in the

public welfare program affect those families to some degree. Less obvious is the likelihood that these same policies also affect the Black families who are not considered eligible for public welfare, but whom other criteria and policies would nevertheless define as poor.

In addition to the impact of source of income on the life styles of Black families, the communities in which they live also impact to a significant degree on their lives. Despite increased communication between different racial and ethnic groups in society, racism-poverty which is deeply felt only by Blacks has continued to exist. Glasgow, has observed that:

> despite the innumerable actions taken by [B]lacks protesting ghetto confinement, social scientists persist in perpetrating the myth of the ghetto as a transitory community and contend that (notwithstanding the slowness of the process) upward mobility for [B]lacks continues and integration as a social goal is occurring. What in fact has occurred is the increased containment of [B]lacks in inner-city ghettos.[19]

In an attempt to show that the continued poverty of the Black community is a result of the persistence of an environment that keeps Black people in subjugation, Mhome detailed the spatial constraints of Blacks living in cities.[20] Such constraints are felt particularly acutely by poor Black families. Similarly, Cross described the additonal costs ghetto residents pay for goods and services as ". . . a tariff for living in the ghetto."[21] For example, low and unstable incomes prevent ghetto residents from traveling long distances for sales and bulk purchases. The tariffs also include the high rents of the ghetto and the high interest rates Blacks pay for legal and illegal loans. Thus, through helping to perpetuate the low and unstable incomes common among poor Black families, public welfare programs support a restricted pattern of consumption for such families, a pattern that reinforces their subjugation.

Barnett and Hefner use the terms "public sector communities" and "conduit colonialism" in describing the impact of public welfare on Black communities. These writers see:

> . . . the development in many urban areas of low-income, public sector communities . . . where close to two-thirds of the residents are, in some form or other, connected with

> the public sector: public assistance and welfare; public housing; low cost, federally financed housing; food stamps; supplemental security incomes; or public service employment. These communities are at best hardly stable, viable economic entities. They exist on grants (usually from either the federal government or foundations) and what one finds is the development, very frequently, of an organizational style and operational mentality that focus on obtaining control of funded programs . . . many with "soft money."[22]

These authors further point out that:

> . . . it is fashionable (and at times accurate) to talk about the lack of funds available for social service needs in the urban areas. But another fact that should be taken into account is that more than a small amount of funds already comes into the cities ostensibly for purposes of caring for the needs of poor people. The important point is that the people on welfare receive this money and immediately transfer it into the hands of, for the most part, absentee slumlords.[23]

In this form of conduit colonialism, Barnett and Hefner see the poor serving as conductors of resources from one segment of the economy to another, from the public sector to the private sector. If, therefore, it is appropriate to identify the welfare family as welfare recipients, it is quite proper to identify the landlords, merchants, and loan sharks as welfare beneficiaries. Vast sums of public dollars come into Black communities, but they go right out.[24] This analysis supports what many poor Black families say about their neighborhood: "It's an economic bind."

The goal of improving the quality of life for poor Black families cannot be achieved through the institution of public welfare alone. Whatever criteria are used to define those Black families now assigned to the underclass in our communities, the concern for poor Black families must become more of a national agenda for action than it is now. In an affluent society such as the United States, it is imperative to continue the search for alternative and effective ways of increasing the resources

available to the poor. Such an objective advances both the welfare of oppressed minorities and the general welfare.

Summary

In summary, naturally there are some negative feelings that these youths shared about their families. However, their positive perceptions far outweighed the negative ones. Indeed, most of the negative feelings seemed to be clearly linked with their families' initial discovery of their drug usage. Sometimes they appeared hostile, defiant, alienated and ambivalent. However, there was no lack of awareness of the additional stresses and frustrations they helped to impose on their families. These young Black people made it clear that their families expressed not only their dissatisfaction, but also shared fully and freely their sadness when they saw their struggles to save their children begin to fail. It may be that their freedom to verbalize even strong feelings so freely and directly to those whom they love is another aspect which contributes to Black family survival. Paradoxically, for even those young Blacks who expressed some hostility towards their families there was a mixed message of empathy. When you listened also to the Black families themselves tell in their own words some of their strategies for survival, it again became clear that it is the family group itself which is their major source of support.

A range of Black family life styles is a reality for the living situations for many young people. It is obvious that some families function more effectively than others in meeting the needs of their family members. Some young people sometimes do lash out particularly at nagging mothers and sometimes indifferent fathers. However, it is a reality for most young Black people that the family offers some love and some financial support. It is often out of pain, anger and disappointment as well as concern that many of these families strongly criticized their young relatives. Whatever the family life style, it does work to varying degrees to mediate some of the societal stresses young Black people experience. Family is the overwhelming choice for the source of supports necessary for their survival. This is often true both from the viewpoint of young Black people as well as their families.

FOOTNOTES

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10. Robert B. Hill, op. cit.

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15. New York Times, March 11, 1979, Sec. 1, p. 1.

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18. Marguerite Ross Barnett and James A. Hefner, Public Policy for the Black Community. New York: Alfred Publishing Co., 1976, p. 261.

19. Douglas Glasgow, "Black Community Development -- The Politics of Welfare, 1970s and 80s," in Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings, National Association of Black Social Workers. Detroit: Multi-Tech Services, 1974, p. 164.

20. Guy C. Z. Mhome, "Structural Oppression and the Persistence of Black Poverty," Journal of Afro-American Issues. 3 Summer-Fall 1975, pp. 25-28.

21. Theodore Cross, "The Ghetto Economy," Journal of Afro-American Issues. 3 Summer-Fall 1975, p. 33.

22. Barnett and Hefner, op. cit., pp. 242-44.

23. Ibid., p. 247.

24. Ibid., pp. 248-250.

The Health Status Of Black Americans

Lawrence E. Gary

Introduction

An important challenge facing the Black community is its health. In many respects, survival and health are inseparable. From a historical perspective, the Black people in America have had a tremendous struggle against both their social and physical environments as they attempted to survive and maintain a healthy state in a society which has been hostile to their existence. To some extent, the health and life style of Black Americans have improved significantly over the years. However, the health status of Blacks continues to lag behind that of the majority population. In some cases, their health situation is getting worse. A 1977 congressional report noted:

> The health of non-[W]hites is not as good as that of [W]hites, yet non-[W]hites get less . . . and possibly less effective health care than [W]hites do . . . Differentials in health status between [W]hites and non-[W]hites persist, despite considerable recent progress in narrowing the gap . . . Some observers question whether more or better care can be effective when environment plays such a large role in determining health status.

This paper plans to critically examine the physical and mental health status of Black people in the American society. More specifically, discussion will be on mortality, morbidity, health utilization, and life styles and attitudes as they impact on health status issues. Moreover, appropriate attention will be given to mental health, occupational health, and environmental health. Finally, will be an examination of the role of research in helping to deal with health care problems confronting the Black community. Admittedly, the topic and concerns are rather broad. The scope will be narrowed in several ways. The data or information for discussion will focus on adults rather than children, nationwide rather than regional, state or city, and not much time will be devoted to sex differences.

*Special acknowledgement is made to Greta Berry for helping to prepare this paper.

The development of this report entails secondary analyses and a review of the literature, with some references to studies conducted by colleagues and the author. The major sources for this paper are the following:

The Health of Minority and Low Income Groups[2]

The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population[3]

The Health of the Disadvantaged: Chartbook[4]

Health Differentials Between White and Non-White Americans[5]

Textbook of Black Related Diseases[6]

Mental Health: A Challenge to the Black Community[7]

Since there is reliance on various data sources, it is necessary to mention several limitations. For example, terminology such as disadvantaged, racial minorities, and non-[W]hites has been used in a number of these reports. This terminology impacts upon data breakdown. What if, for example, a comparison between the "non-White" groups was desired? With the concept "non-White" including Blacks, Indians, Asian Americans, etc., the breakdown of the data labeled non-White is impossible. Some of the data in this text is based upon samples that may differ somewhat from the figures that would have been obtained if a complete census had been taken using the same schedules, instructions, and enumerators. Consequently, particular care must be exercised in the interpretation of figures based on a relatively small number of cases or on small differences between estimates. There is also the problem of interpretation, especially, when there is interaction between several independent variables. In addition, some of the data may be outdated. Nonetheless, these limitations have not been determined to be insurmountable.

The Concept Of Health And Health Status

There are many shortcomings of the modern definition of health as illustrated by "the clean bill of health" or the absence of symptoms which is imprinted in the minds of the public through the annual physical examination.[8] Obviously, diseases such as cancer or emphysema begin years before they are detected, and often when the symptoms do appear it is too late. The "here today and gone tomorrow" philosophy is a reality in considerations. Susser argues that ". . . disease, illness and sickness are not synonymous."[9] He views disease as a process

that produces psychological and physiological symptoms, and the consequence is impairment. Thus, illness results in disability and is seen as a state of distress manifested by symptoms. Finally, sickness is defined as a state of social dysfunction and the consequence as handicap. What this means is that ". . . a person may have a disease, yet not be ill, or a person may be ill although no disease process can be identified."[10]

A definition of health is important for the conception of health generally influences thinking and behavior. In other words, your definition of health affects what you do to make yourself healthy or ill: socially, economically, environmentally, emotionally or physically. Some current examples of health include:

(1) The age old view of health as absence of disease.[11]

(2) Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity.[12]

(3) . . . a physical and mental state fairly free of discomfort and pain which permits the person concerned to function as effectively and as long as possible in the environment where chance or choice has placed him.[13]

(4) Health is a positive state of well being . . . It refers to a level of physical fitness and physical-emotional harmony that affords maximum resistence to disease and supports a sustained joy of living.[14]

In reviewing these definitions, it becomes clear that there is no satisfactory and scientifically useful definition of health, and the public does not seem to be aware of this problem. As a result of the diversity displayed among the definitions of health, discussions of health have gone from viewing health as a noun to regarding it as an adjective (e.g., health care, health behavior, etc.) What is implied is that health is defined or measured from a multidimensional perspective. This paper will define or measure health status in terms of mortality and life expectancy rates, utilization of health services, number of disability days, and prevention behavior and life styles. These measures subsume a variety of health conditions. They are not perfect, however, they provide an overall assessment of health behavior in Black communities.

Life Expectancy And Mortality

Life expectancy at birth, predictive of individual life patterns, is a particularly useful measure of the health conditions of a given group in society. As shown in Table I (see Table I, next page), life expectancy at birth was 73.2 for Americans in 1977, which was a record high. However, there are some notable differences when this measure is broken down into subgroups by sex and race. As of 1977, the life expectancy at birth for Black men was 64.6 and 70.0 for White men.* The White female life expectancy rate was 77.7 and it was 73.1 for Black females in 1977. These data show that Black men and women live about 4 or 5 years less than their White counterparts. From a historical prespective, the gap between the two groups has narrowed. However, if we assume that life expectancy rates for Whites will remain the same, and that the rates for Blacks will continue to decrease at its present rate, it will take approximately 90 years before the two groups are at parity with respect to this measure.

Infant mortality rates have been used as an indicator of health status, and as a measure of general living standards of a population. In other words, the mortality and morbidity experience of infants may serve as a barometer of the general environmental conditions that impact on the health status of all age groups in the population. This measure is defined as the number of children dying before one year of age per 1,000 live births. Infant mortality rates have declined for all races in the past two decades. In 1977, the infant mortality rates for Blacks and Whites were 21.7 and 12.3 respectively. Although there was a 50 percent decrease in the infant mortality rate of 1950, the rate for Blacks in 1977 was almost twice as high as for the White race (see Table II). It is interesting to compare these rates among different groups. As shown below in 1974, Black people had the highest infant mortality rates:[15]

All Races	16.7
White	14.8
Black	26.8
American Indian	18.5
Chinese	6.0
Japanese	9.3
Other Races	9.5

*In this paper, the term "Black" is used, however, the data may be for "Blacks and other races." Blacks constitute about 90 percent (90%) of this population.

Table I

Expectation of Life at Birth in Years by Color and Sex
United States 1920-1977

Year	Total			White			All Other		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
1977	73.2	77.3	69.3	73.8	77.7	70.0	68.8	73.1	64.6
1976	72.8	76.7	69.0	73.5	77.3	69.7	68.3	72.6	64.1
1975	72.5	76.5	68.7	73.2	77.2	69.4	67.9	72.3	63.6
1974	71.9	75.8	68.1	72.7	76.6	68.9	67.0	71.3	62.9
1973	71.3	75.3	67.6	72.2	76.1	68.4	65.9	70.1	61.9
1972	71.1	75.1	67.4	72.0	75.9	68.3	65.6	69.9	61.5
1971	71.1	75.0	67.4	72.0	75.8	68.3	65.6	69.7	61.6
1970	70.9	74.8	67.1	71.7	75.6	68.0	65.3	69.4	61.3
1960	69.7	73.1	66.6	70.6	74.1	67.4	63.6	66.3	61.1
1950	68.2	71.1	65.6	69.1	72.2	66.5	60.8	62.9	59.1
1940	62.9	65.2	60.8	64.2	66.6	62.1	53.1	54.9	51.5
1930	59.7	61.6	58.1	61.4	63.5	59.7	48.1	49.2	47.3
1920	54.1	54.6	53.6	54.9	55.6	54.4	45.3	45.2	45.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census Statistical Abstract of United States: 1979 (100th edition). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office 1979, p.70

There are several factors which contribute to the high infant mortality rate: age of mother (young), low birth weight, marital status (single or unmarried), socioeconomic status (low family income), and medical care (lack of prenatal care). Discussion of these factors is beyond the scope of this paper. Somewhat related to the infant mortality rate is the maternal morbidity rate. In 1977, the rate for the United States was 11.2 deaths per 100,000 live births. As shown in Table II, the maternal death rate for non Whites was 3.25 times higher than Whites in 1977.

Table II

Infant, Maternal and Neonatal Death Rates, 1977

Infant death		14.1
White	12.3	
non-White	21.7	
Maternal death		11.2
White	7.7	
non-White	26.0	
Fetal death		9.8
White	8.7	
non-White	14.6	
Neonatal death		9.9
White	8.7	
non-White	14.7	

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of United States: 1979. (100th edition) Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1979, p. 75.

The death rate alone is not a perfect measure of health status, however, a decrease in the death rate provides a good tool for assessing the overall health improvement in a population. Comparisons of death rates over time or among sub-groups are made possible through a technique referred to as the direct method of age adjustment. This is done by applying the age-specific death rates of a given year for a sub-group to the age distribution of the population at a given time. The data in Table III show that the death rate for Blacks is higher than that of Whites. Blacks have substantially higher death rates than

Whites except at the older ages (75 years and over). For example, in 1975 Black children under age five (5) had a death rate almost twice as high as White children. For the adult years of 25-44, the death rate of Blacks is also twice as high as the Whites.[16] In recent years, Blacks have had a lower crude death rate than Whites. This lower crude death rate for the Black population is due to the young age distribution of the Black population.

Table III

Death Rates for the Population by Age and Race, 1975 (Age-specific death rate per 1000 population specified group)

Age	Non-White	White
Crude death rate	8.3	9.0
Age adjusted	10.4	8.2
Under 1 year	27.7	14.1
1 to 4 years	1.0	0.6
5 to 14 years	0.5	0.3
15 to 24 years	1.6	1.1
25 to 34 years	3.0	1.2
35 to 44 years	5.3	2.3
45 to 54 years	10.8	6.0
55 to 64 years	21.8	14.2
65 to 74 years	39.7	31.0
75 to 84 years	70.8	73.8
85 years and older	101.0	157.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1970-1978. Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1979, p. 123.

The death rates for selected causes will now be examined. For the years 1910 through 1974, the ranking of the leading causes of death in the Black population was as follows:[17]

1. heart disease
2. cancer
3. homicide
4. accidents excluding motor vehicle
5. certain diseases of early infancy
6. influenza and pneumonia
7. motor vehicle accidents
8. diabetes mellitus
9. cirrhosis of liver
10. suicide and hypertension.

The number one cause of death for Blacks in 1974 was heart disease; with cancer being the second. Deaths due to diseases of the heart and cancer accounted for 46 percent of all Black deaths and 58 percent of all White deaths. The third cause of death for Blacks was homicide which doubled between 1960 and 1974. Suicide among Blacks has been on the increase, especially for Black adolescents and young adults.

Among the five leading chronic disease causes of death in 1975, Blacks or non-Whites had a higher death rate for heart disease, cancer, stroke, and diabetes than the White population. For example, the age-adjusted death rate from heart disease in 1975 for Blacks and other races was 245.2 per 100,000 population compared to 217.1 for Whites.

Over the years from 1950 through 1977, the age-adjusted death rates for cancer have risen. This increase has been more rapid in Blacks than in Whites. In 1975, the age-adjusted cancer death rate for the total population in the United States increased four percent (4%) between 1950 and 1975. This increase was four percent (4%) for Whites and 20 percent (20%) for non-Whites. In 1975, the age-adjusted death rate for cancer was 128.1 for Whites and 155.0 for Blacks, a differential of 1.21. See Table IV. Black people especially Black men, are being stricken with cancer and are dying from all forms of cancer at a rate that is steadily increasing.[18]

Table IV

Age-Adjusted Death Rate for 10 Leading Causes of Death, 1975

	White	Non-Whites	Differential
1. Heart	217.2	245.2	1.13
2. Cancer	128.1	155.0	1.21
3. Cerebrovascular Strokes	51.3	82.0	1.60
4. Accidents	43.1	56.9	1.32
5. Influenza & Pneumonia	15.6	23.9	1.53
6. Diabetes	10.4	21.7	2.09
7. Cirrhosis of liver	12.6	23.1	1.83
8. Arteriosclerosis	6.6	6.1	.924
9. Suicide	13.3	7.5	.563
10. Certain causes of mortality in early infancy	10.2	27.8	2.73

Source: Melvin H. Rudov and Nancy Santangelo, Health Status of Minorities and Low-Income Groups. U.S. HEW Washington, D.C.: 1979, p. 47

Some have theorized that this sudden increase in cancer deaths might be due to changes in life styles of Black people over the last four (4) decades. These changes include increased smoking, entry into industrial jobs, and migration to industrial cities. Moreover, one can argue that environmental factors point to the fact that the Black population show higher incidence rates than Whites for cancer of the lung, stomach, esophagus, prostate, uterus, cervix, pancreas, and bronchus.

Upon examining Table IV in some detail, it will be noted that Blacks have a higher age-adjusted death rate for all causes except arteriosclerosis, and suicide. Of particular note is the death rate for diabetes which is 2.09 percent higher for non-Whites than for Whites. With respect to sex, non-White women have the highest diabetes death rate, over twice that of White women. It is estimated that more than 70,000 Black Americans a year die from diabetes or its complication.[19]

Disability, Accidents, And Injuries

Another measure of health status is the number of disability days, restricted activity or bed disability days. Disability involves the inability to carry out customary roles (employee, provider, parent, spouse, friend, etc.) and customary duties required of these roles which includes the loss of productivity (economic and social). The concept of disability includes the degree of impairment and the number of days of disability. A restricted activity day is a day when a person cuts down on his usual activities for the whole day because of illness or injury. A bed disability day is a day when a person loses the entire work day because of injury or illness.[20]

Blacks in 1975, regardless of income, spent 9.2 bed disability days per person in comparison to 6.2 for Whites. Interestingly, when the income was greater than $10,000, the racial differential was very narrow (4.9 days for Whites, 4.8 days for non-Whites; see Table V, next page). In 1977, Blacks and other non-Whites spent 19.2 days per person in restricted activity, whereas Whites spent 17.6 days per person in restricted activity.[21]

Data on the incidence of personal injuries are somewhat outdated. However, information on occupational health was available. According to the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, every American worker has the right to a safe work environment. However, health and safety statistics reveal that workers are a long way from recognizing this legal right. Occupational injury accounted for 4.5 percent (4.5%) of personal injuries for the total population in 1974. In 1973, occupational injury for blue collar workers resulted in the loss of 6.1 work days for laborers, 4.5 work days for factory workers, 4.6 work days for transportation and utilities, and 2.0 work days for service employees. Often, occupational injury data are not broken down by racial groups.

However, Davis has studied occupational hazards among Blacks.[22] He argues because of discrimination in hiring,

Table V

Number of Bed Disability Days Per Person Per Year
by Age, Race and Income, 1975

	All ages	Under 15 years	15-44 years	45-64 years	65 years +
RACE					
White	6.2	4.6	5.0	7.9	11.7
Racial Minority	8.8	4.5	7.8	13.2	24.6
Black only	9.2	4.3	8.6	13.9	24.6
RACE & INCOME					
White					
under $5,000	10.9	5.5	8.1	16.8	13.8
$5,000-9,999	7.2	4.4	6.0	10.8	10.2
$10,000 +	4.9	4.5	4.3	5.7	9.9
Racial Minority					
under $5,000	13.5	5.3	10.0	24.6	29.6
$5,000-9,999	8.8	5.5	9.7	9.9	19.5
$10,000 +	4.8	3.1	5.3	5.5	-----

Source: Health Resource Administration, Health of the Disadvantaged: Chartbook. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of HEW, September 1977, p. 69.

Blacks are placed in the most dangerous jobs. As a result, Blacks face a 37 percent (37%) greater chance of suffering an occupational injury and a 20 percent (20%) greater chance of dying from a job-related injury. He also documented that a sizeable percent of the Black work force, estimated at 1 1/2 million, are not able to work due to job-related disabilities.[23] Moreover, one assumes that there is a relationship between job environment and the incidence and death rates of certain diseases in the Black community. It is generally known that tuberculosis, pneumonia, liver and stomach ailments, cancer, heart diseases, and hypertension are higher in the Black community than in the White community. The environmental impact on the health

status of Black people cannot be ignored. The figures on occupational injuries are serious. Unfortunately many Blacks are generally not aware of the connection between job hazards and the effects on their health status. Moreover, many are not familiar with the procedures involved in utilizing adequate diagnostic, treatment and compensation programs.

Acute And Chronic Disease Condition

The National Health Interview Survey (HIS) methodology defines acute conditions as ". . . those illnesses and injuries of less than three months duration for which medical attention was sought, or which resulted in restricted activity."[24] Using 1973 HIS data, the highest incidence of acute conditions is reported among the highest income Whites and among the lowest income non-Whites. Among non-Whites, the highest incidence is reported by the highest income men and the lowest income women: see Table VI.

Table VI

Number of Acute Conditions per 100 Persons
by Sex and Family Income, 1973

	All Incomes	Under $5,000	$5,000-9,999	$10,000 +
Total Both Sexes	175.1	163.8	177.7	183.4
White	180.9	170.6	186.7	187.1
Non-White	135.1	143.5	124.4	134.1
White male	177.6	171.8	190.7	178.4
Non-White male	126.8	128.8	109.0	136.4
White female	184.1	169.8	183.0	196.0
Non-White female	142.4	154.1	139.3	131.7

Source: Melvin H. Rudov and Nancy Santangelo, Health Status of Minorities and Low-Income Groups. U.S. HEW Washington, D.C.: 1979, p. 87.

Mortality rates for acute conditions such as pneumonia, influenza and cirrhosis of the liver have already been discussed. There is some disagreement as to whether cirrhosis of the liver is a chronic or acute condition. There is also an interaction problem when one discusses the "causes" of this disease. In other words, all alcoholics do not suffer from cirrhosis of the liver, and all people with this disease are not alcoholics. There are interaction and interpretation problems when analyzing an acute condition such as cirrhosis of the liver. It is known, however, that incidence of alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver are increasing in the Black community.

Several researchers note that a racial differential is seen when looking at prevalence rates of selected chronic conditions. Among persons 17 to 44 years of age, non-Whites have a lower prevalence for asthma, chronic bronchitis, impairment of the spine, and hearing impairments. Non-Whites, aged 17 to 44 years, on the other hand have a higher prevalence of arthritis, diabetes, and hypertension.

Non-Whites, aged 45 to 64 years, in comparison to Whites, reported a higher prevalence of arthritis, asthma, heart conditions, hypertension, impairments of the spine, and vision impairments. Within this same age group a lower prevalence of chronic bronchitis, hernia (abdominal), ulcer, and hearing impairments is seen. Blacks and other racial minorities report lower rates of limitation of activity due to chronic conditions, but more severe limitations than do Whites.[25]

Mental Health

There is substantial disagreement in the social and behavioral sciences literature as to the definition of mental health. The problem of definition exists even though a major industry has developed around mental health. To highlight the significance of the definitional problem, note The President's Commission on Mental Health:

> Documenting the total number of people who have mental health problems, the kind they have, how they are treated, and the associated financial costs is difficult, not only because opinions vary on how mental health and mental illness should be defined, but also because the available data are often inadequate or misleading. This difficulty is compounded by the subjective nature of many mental health problems.[26]

One's definition of mental health will influence how one views issues, how one diagnoses, and how one develops policies and programs. Scholars and researchers tend to define mental health from the perspective of various models of human behavior. In recent years, greater emphasis has been placed on mental health rather than mental illness primarily because it connotes positiveness. This positiveness has particular significance for Black people, providing an opportunity for them to begin to define their own mental health.

In developing alternative parameters for studying the mental health of Black people, Black scholars are especially cognizant of the functional significance of physical, social, political, economic, and other environment forces which influence the mental health of an individual, and thus, his community in general. Elsewhere there has been put forth a working definition of mental health from the perspective of the Black community.

> Mental health is the ability of an individual to control or modify his or her environment so that he or she can . . .
>
> 1. exercise sound and realistic judgement and strategies for dealing with problems;
>
> 2. satisfy basic biological and derived human needs;
>
> 3. establish meaningful physical and emotional relationships with others;
>
> 4. take responsibility for personal feelings and action;
>
> 5. have a functional and integrated self-image with an awareness of how freedom, autonomy, and morality relate to one's self-image;
>
> 6. support efforts to promote the growth and development of one's own cultural or social groups.[27]

This definition as well as others has its limitations. The uncertainity and inconsistency in defining mental health is reflective of the inability to answer such questions as, what is a 'normal' person, a 'normal Black' person? What is a mentally healthy person, Black or White? Until answers are provided to these questions, there should be hesitancy in labeling patients,

especially Blacks and other minorities, unless these labels reflect certain cultural realities. The mental health needs of Black people have never been adequately determined or assessed. Some of the developing conclusions in the literature addressing this paucity are noted below.[28,29]

1) Racial minorities used most mental health facilities at greater rates than Whites.[30]

2) Racial minorities made the greatest use of inpatient and publicly funded facilities.[31]

3) Men and non-Whites use public facilities in greater proportion than do women and Whites.[32]

4) Blacks use community mental health centers in almost twice their proportion of the general population.[33]

5) The admission rate for Black and other minority races to state and county hospitals is twice as great as for Whites.[34]

6) Race is an important variable in understanding the way in which mental health services are delivered in this country.[35,36,37,38]

7) Studies have shown that problems such as lack of transportation, lack of citizen participation and control of mental health services, cumbersome intake procedures, impersonal treatment settings, etc., affect the accessibility of mental health services to the Black community.[39,40,41]

8) With respect to the type of treatment, studies have shown that the treatment Blacks receive in mental health agencies is different from Whites in the following ways: diagnoses are less accurate for Blacks;[42] disposition of Black cases are more non-specific;[43] Blacks are more likely to be seen for diagnoses only;[44] Blacks are less likely to be selected for insight-oriented therapy than Whites[45] and Blacks are less likely to be selected for long-term therapy than Whites.[46]

9) Some data suggest that the attitudes of the therapists toward Blacks have not been too positive in terms of their assessment of the potential benefits that Black clients can receive from certain types of treatment.[47]

Mental health is clearly related to stress and anxiety. This is a stress-ridden society, one in which survival itself means experiencing degrees of stress. The notion of stress implies excessive exposure to forces that can harm a person's well being. In relation to Blacks, the conditions under which they live make them particularly vulnerable to the impact of stress and anxiety producing factors. Holmes and Rahe developed a rating scale for measuring the extent of readjustment necessary for responding to a stressful life event.[48] Furthermore, it is assumed that too many stressful life events (pleasant and unpleasant) will increase the probability of one's susceptibility to illness. When we look at some of the events such as death of spouse, jail terms, fired at work, etc., identified by Holmes and Rahe, it is clear that the Black community has a very high incidence of stressful events:[49] see Table VII, next page. Therefore, one would expect the Black community to have a high prevalence of diseases, and high death results from these conditions.

Table VII
Holmes and Rahe Rating Scale Rate

Rank	Life Event	Mean Value
1	Death of spouse	100
2	Divorce	73
3	Marital separation	65
4	Jail term	63
5	Death of close family member	63
6	Personal injury or illness	53
7	Marriage	50
8	Fired at work	47
9	Marital reconciliation	45
10	Retirement	45
11	Change in health of family member	44
12	Pregnancy	40
13	Sex difficulties	39
14	Gain of new family member	39
15	Business readjustment	39
16	Change in financial state	38
17	Death of close friend	37
18	Change in different line of work	36
19	Change in number of arguments with spouse	35
20	Mortgage over $70,000	31
21	Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30
22	Change in responsibilities at work	29
23	Son or daughter leaving home	29
24	Trouble with in-laws	29
25	Outstanding personal achievement	25
26	Wife begin or stop work	26
27	Begin or end school	25
28	Change in living conditions	25
29	Revision of personal habits	24
30	Trouble with boss	23
31	Change in work hours of conditions	20
32	Change in residence	20
33	Change in schools	20
34	Change in recreation	19
35	Change in church activities	19
36	Change in social activities	18
37	Mortgage or loan less than $10,000	17
38	Change in sleeping habits	16
39	Change in number of family get-togethers	15
40	Change in eating habits	15
41	Vacation	13
42	Christmas	12
43	Minor violations of the law	11

Source: T. H. Holmes, & R. E. Rahe, "The Social Readjustment Rating Scale." Journal of Psychosomatic Research, Vol. 11, 1967, pp. 213-218.

In general, it can be argued that more consideration needs to be given to cultural and ethnic factors in developing policies and programs to solve health problems. When applied to Black people in the United States, the concept of culture tends to give some people considerable trouble. That Black people have a culture is indisputable, and that culture has an impact on behavior as reflected in the lifestyles and attitudes of Black people which must be considered as viable influences. These cultural habits or values influence the perception of health or what is considered to be healthy behavior.

In reviewing the current lifestyles of the American people, it can be concluded that many aspects of these lifestyles are not conducive to health. In the Black community it is becoming obvious that they smoke too many cigarettes, consume too much alcohol, eat too much, and do a few other risk related behaviors which will not be discussed in this paper. These behavioral risk factors affect the health of Blacks, and they are responsible for most of the premature morbidity and mortality in this country. Some risk factors include the following: (a) smoking, (b) alcohol, (c) drug abuse, and (d) nutrition.

Cigarette smoking is the single most important preventable cause of death. It is clear that cigarette smoking is associated with cases of lung cancer. Cigarette smoking is now also identified as a major factor increasing risks for heart attacks. Cigarette smokers have a 70 percent (70%) greater rate of death from all causes than nonsmokers. It was found that Black men are much more likely than White men to smoke cigarettes (46 percent compared to 38 percent). However, fewer than 15 percent (15%) of Black male smokers smoked more than 25 cigarettes per day compared to the 40 percent (40%) of White male smokers who consumed 25 or more cigarettes per day.

Misuse of alcohol plays a part in a substantial number of premature deaths, illnesses, and disability. Alcohol misuse is a factor in more than 10 percent (10%) of all deaths in the United States. It is also associated with half of traffic deaths, cirrhosis of the liver, and liver cancer. There is very little hard data on alcoholism in the Black community.

Although there is no question that drug abuse is a major problem, reliable information on actual prevalence is hard to obtain. Moreover, interpretation of surveys is complicated by the lack of agreement on what frequency of use of drugs constitutes abuse. Drug abuse is one of several conditions that is

more prevalent among non-Whites than Whites, whose effects are not reflected in death rates. Non-Whites represented roughly 45 percent (45%) of narcotic drug "mentions" in a project reported in a 1975 National Institute of Drug Abuse report. On the usage of drug abuse facilities, the utlization rates for Blacks are quite high. Blacks seem to start abusing heroin at a later age and go for a longer period of time before seeking treatment. Again, caution must be exercised in interpretating drug abuse data or findings.

Blacks showed higher prevalence rates than Whites for deficiencies in the following nutrients: vitamins A, C, and D, iron, iodine, and calcium. Blacks, for most nutrients, had higher prevalence rates for deficiencies than Whites within the same income groups. Blacks had a lower prevalence rate for protein and niacin deficiencies than Whites. The largest racial differential is for iron deficiency, with Blacks having 3 1/2 times the prevalence rate of Whites. The racial differential was also high for iodine deficiency; with Blacks having little over twice the rate of Whites.[50] Blacks also had higher rates of multiple nutrition deficiencies than Whites.

Obesity is a nutrition-related health problem. The largest proportion of obese adults are found among Black women, age 20 to 44 (35 percent), while the lowest proportion of obese adults are found among Black men age 45 to 75 (5 percent). These figures show that obesity is more frequent in Black women compared to White women, and less frequent among Black men compared with White men.[51] The conclusion leads to suspicion that there is a relationship among the conditions of obesity, diabetes, and hypertension.

In many ways, it can be argued that an individual's perception of his state of health can be viewed as an important measure of health status. This notion is accepted by many scholars. Additionally, it is thought that such a perception will influence health behavior, especially in the preventive domain. In the 1975 National Center for Health Statistics health survey, respondents were asked to assess their health in terms of excellent, good, fair, or poor. As income increased, the proportion of persons assessing their health as excellent increased; this being true for both Whites and non-Whites.[52]

In 1975, racial minorities were 60 percent (60%) more likely than Whites to judge their health as only fair or poor. Among the Black population, 35.3 percent rated their health as excellent (Whites 50.4%); 45.0 percent as good health (Whites 37.4%), 14.3

percent as fair (Whites 9.0%), and 4.7 percent as poor health (Whites 2.6%). Using a similar question in a 1977 survey, minorities' perception of their health was not as favorable as that of Whites'.[53] When Blacks were asked if their health, compared to others their age was excellent, good, fair, or poor, 19 percent (19%) answered "fair" or "poor" compared to only 11 percent (11%) of the White population.

A look at general psychological well-being and how it differs among subgroups revealed that Black men and White woman were almost equal, with 54 percent (54%) and 58 percent (58%), respectively reporting positive well-being.[54] However, Black women were reported as having not only the lowest level of positive well-being with 37 percent (37%) having positive scores, but also more than half reported moderate to severe levels of distress.

Utilization Of Health Services

A final index of health status is health service utilization which can be measured as the proportion of the population who saw a physician and or a dentist during the year, or hospital stays. In 1973 non-Whites had less visits than Whites, and even within the same income categories, minorities had less visits than Whites on the average. In an illness perceived by the patient, non-Whites were significantly less likely to see a physician at all. Data from a national health survey in 1975 revealed that Whites averaged 5.1 visits to a physician per person, while non-Whites averaged 4.7.[55] In relation to family income, the largest difference between Whites and non-Whites who saw a physician, occurred when the level of income was between $5,000 and $10,000: see Table VIII, next page.

Little difference was found between Blacks and Whites' visits to a physician by those who do see a physician (6.5% and 6.7%). The data suggest that there is more equal use of the health care system, in which seventy-five percent of both Black and White populations saw a physician within a year in 1977. Once a non-White individual visited a physician, he/she averaged slightly more visits than a White individual. A comparison of the number of visits per year suggests that non-Whites delay seeing a physician until the problem becomes more serious. The higher percent of racial minorities that do not see a physician suggests that the delay in seeing a physician is for a given illness. In conclusion, if the rate of increase of mean number of physician visits continues as it did from 1970 to 1975, the mean numbers of visits will be equal (5.26) for both Whites and non-Whites by 1980.[56]

Table VIII

Number of Physician Visits Per Person Year, and Average Length of Stay (in days) for Short Stay Hospital by Selected Characteristics, 1975

Physician Visits Per Person Per Year

	All ages	Under 15 years	15-44 years	45-64 years	65 years +
RACE					
White	5.1	4.5	4.8	5.6	6.7
Racial Minority	4.7	3.8	4.5	6.2	5.9
Black Only	4.7	3.7	4.7	6.4	5.9
RACE & INCOME					
White					
under $5,000	6.1	4.9	5.9	7.2	6.5
$5,000-$9,999	5.2	4.9	4.9	5.7	7.3
$10,000 +	4.9	4.7	4.7	5.4	6.6
Racial Minority					
under $5,000	5.6	4.6	5.3	7.9	6.5
$5,000-$9,999	4.9	3.8	5.2	6.4	5.6
$10,000 +	3.8	3.4	3.7	4.7	5.6

Average Length of Stay (in days) for Short Stay in Hospital

RACE					
White	7.9	5.3	5.9	9.3	11.8
Racial Minority	8.9	6.5	6.8	13.7	14.5
Black Only	9.2	6.7	7.0	14.5	14.9

Source: Health Resource Administration. Health of the Disadvantaged: Chartbook. Washington, D.C.: 1977, pp. 80-89.

Data from 1975 national health survey revealed with regard to hospitalization, Whites only had slightly more discharges from hospitals than non-Whites (142 per 1,000 persons compared to 137.)[57] The average length of stay for Whites was 7.9 days; and for Blacks, 9.2 days: see Table VIII, next page. Evidence from figures such as the above might suggest that when non-Whites, particularly poor non-Whites, do reach the hospital, their illness has progressed further, and they require more care. Therefore, they are more likely to have a longer average hospital stay.

Dental visits is another measure of health care utilization. Any visit to a dentist for treatment or advice is considered a dental visit, as is any visit for services provided by a technician or dental hygienist acting under a dentist's supervision. Utilization rates of non-Whites have changed rapidly in the last two decades. Two decades ago, White utilization rates were twice the non-White rate. The gap has narrowed somewhat between Whites and non-Whites. Between 1964 and 1973, the number of dental visits increased only slightly, if at all, for all income and racial groups. Since dental care is not covered as extensively by Medicaid, a significant increase in dentist visits by the poor would not be expected. As of 1973, Whites had 75 percent (75%) higher number of dental visits than non-Whites. Judgements concerning the oral health status of the United States population, and the examiniation of dentists as to the need for dental care, revealed that non-Whites were judged to require dental care at the rate of 50 percent (50%) above Whites.

Research And Mental Health

The discussion on research will be limited to the field of mental health. In general, research can be viewed as systematc activities directed toward solving a particular problem. However, all problems, cannot be solved by means of a research approach for problem resolutions are fundamentally related to policy decisions.

In the past seven years, there have been several comprehensive studies of the research enterprise of which mental health is a major component. In addition, there have been other reports, documents and congressional testimonies on the nature and consequences of the research industry in the American society.

According to the best estimates, in fiscal year 1976, $317 million were allocated for mental health research funding. It is

Table IX

Global "Anatomy" of Mental Health Research Funding FY 1976

	Amount (in millions)	%
Health, Education and Welfare (HEW)	$220.0	69.2%
Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA)*	(148.2	46.6)
NIAAA 10.8	3.4	
NIDA 35.3	11.1	
NIMH 102.1	32.1	
National Institutes of Health (NIH)	(53.8	16.9)
Other HEW (Office of Human Development, Hlth Res Admin, etc.)	(18.2	5.7)
National Science Foundation	18.4	5.8
Veterans Administration (VA)	9.1	2.9
Department of Defense (DOD)	13.9	4.4
Other Federal Departments and Agencies (Agriculture, Justice, EPA, etc.)	20.0	6.3
State Governments	25.0	7.9
Private Foundations	11.3	3.6
TOTAL	$317.7	100.0%

*ADAMHA figures are FY 1977.

Source: The President's Commission on Mental Health, Task Panel Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, Vol. 4, 1972, p. 1615.

interesting to note that in 1976, private foundations spent approximately $11.3 million on mental health research or 3.6 percent of the total funding for this effort. Moreover, the federal government was the source of funding for about 88 percent of mental health and behavioral science research:[58] see Table IX, previous pasge.

As can be seen, the federal government has invested rather heavily in mental health research. An important question is: Who gets these funds? To answer this question, focus will be on the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), since it has the largest budget for supporting mental health research. In general, the major elements in the research funding process for NIMH include (a) the administrators, (b) the review committee, and (c) the principal investigators. Each of these elements will be discussed, briefly, for each makes important decisions which are very much related to the politics of public policy and programming for mental health research and the Black Community.

The administrators develop program statements, prepare forward plans, solicit proposals, provide technical assistance, recommend people for the review committees, and have personal and professional relationships with committee members, and so forth. Therefore, these administrators play a significant role in the research funding process. Who are these administrators? They represent a range of academic disciplines and specialized skills. Preliminary observations suggest that the administrative set-up at NIMH is essentially a White, male-dominated club.

After a proposal has been submitted and assigned to a program unit, the administrator will send the proposal to members of the Initial Review Committee. According to a NIMH publication:

> Initial Review Groups are panels of the best qualified, primarily non-government consultants chosen for their expertise in a given field . . . Initial Review Groups review, evaluate, and rate research grant applications. Each committee has between 10 and 15 members.[59]

There is no question that the initial review committee is the key element in the funding process. Data suggest that the NIMH review committees are dominated by White male psychologists and psychiatrists.[60] When looking specifically at who gets the

funding, data suggest that minority scholars do not have meaningful access to federal research funds in the mental health field. Black scholars interested in research at Black colleges and universities are particularly disadvantaged.[61] Furthermore, Blacks are underrepresented in the disciplines which receive large scale funding for mental health research. In addition, even within these disciplines, many Blacks do not follow research careers. Therefore, data support the notion that a major policy problem facing the Black community is how to get more Black students interested in research careers in the major social and behavioral science disciplines.

There is not adequate data on mental health problems and on the behavioral dynamics of Black people. Researchers seeking to examine the mental health of Black people must follow and abide by basic methodological rules and procedures. One must review the relationship and understanding between the methods, principles, and concepts of scientific research and the mental health of Blacks. However, any research on mental health in Black communities or mental health in general, should take into consideration internal and external factors that could influence the outcome of any investigation. A researcher must look not only at the biological and psychological functioning of individuals, but also at the social component. Research on the mental health of Blacks might conceivably have implications for, and be related to, race and racism, poverty, sex-role differentiations, socioeconomic status, and community organizations.

Several research concerns as they relate to the mental health of Black people have been identified: (1) the lack of methodological rigor; (2) the overutilization of exploratory and descriptive studies instead of more experimental designs; (3) the infrequent use of comparable methodologies using longitudinal designs; (4) the tendency to review each research problem in isolation ignoring any possible relationship between variables (e.g., drug addiction, alcoholism, etc.); (5) the tendency to analyze data on a psychological level virtually ignoring the social and biological; and (6) the difficulties of operationally defining mental health concepts (e.g., mental health, mental illness, psychiatric disorders).[62]

Along with these concerns there is a critical need for "a mass" of Black researchers specifically trained to do advanced research. The federal government must continue to be pushed to support minority research training programs. Also, Black

scholars and students should be encouraged to take continuing education courses in advanced research designs, statistics, and computer science: such as have been offered by the Mental Health Research Center at Howard University for the past four years.

The Mental Health Research Center has been doing research in the following areas: Conceptions of Mental Health; Attitudes of Blacks Toward Community Mental Health Centers; Informal Support Systems; Mental Health Services to Children; Help-Seeking Behavior Among Black Men; Adolesent Unmarried Fathers; the Black Church; and Community Participation and Psychological Well-Being. Of course, there are other units at Howard and scholars around the country who are doing serious research on mental health conditions of Black people.

Summary

This document, consisting of statistics, secondary analyses, and literature on the health status of the Black population, was an attempt to present an overview of the health situation in the Black community. Withstanding limitations, the health-related information compiled here is reflective of the consensus that the health of Blacks is not as good as that of Whites.

Although it is true the poor and the lower classes suffer disproportionately high rates of disease, illness, and disability, and that Blacks are disproportionately overrepresented among these groups; it seems certain that just being a Black individual opens one to additional health problems. Simply being Black increases one's likelihood of heart disease, mental illness, early death, and poor or discriminatory health care. A realistic appraisal of the overal health status of the Black community must treat the whole person in the context of that person's environment.

There is awareness that all aspects of health conditions in Black communities have not been covered. For example, health expenditures were not discussed. Also, there was no critical examination of how genetics influence health conditions in the Black community. Table X contains data on conditions with an unusually high or low frequency among Black people.

Table X

Some Conditions With An Unusually High Or Low Frequency In Blacks

Frequent	Infrequent
Single-gene disorders	
G6PD deficiency	Cystic Fibrosis
Sickle cell dieases, e.g. SS, SC, SD, SE, S thal. SHb F	Hemophilia
Alpha thalassmia	Phenylketonuna
Beta thalassmia (African type)	Wilson's disease
Persistent F	Hereditary spherocytosis
Cervical cancer	Congenital hip disease
Esophageal cancer	Major central nervous system malformations
Hypertension	Multiple sclerosis
Polydactyly	Otosclerosis
Prenelical fissure	Osteoporosis and fracture of hip and spine
Sarcoidosis	Polycythemia vera
Systemic lupus erythematosus	Psoriasis
Tuberculosis	Skin cancer
Uterine Fibroids	Pylaric stenosis
Keloids	Suicide
Lactose intolerance	Leukemia

Source: R. A. Williams, Textbook of Black Related Diseases. New York McGraw-Hill, 1975, p. 87.

There are no easy answers to the health problems facing Black communities. The following recommendations are made:

(1) To change lifestyles, at least those destructive elements. This can be achieved through health education.

(2) To make local, county, state, and federal governments aware of the unique problems of Blacks by testifying at hearings, writing position papers, appealing to the mass media, and writing to the editors of local newspapers.

(3) To have Black health professionals serve as role models. More emphasis must be given to setting health examples especially in the area of preventive health.

(4) To push for a reorganization of health services in this country. There is a need for a national health insurance program encompassing wellness and prevention as well as sickness, and in the meantime, there should be full funding of medicaid and medicare.

(5) To establish several more medical or public health schools at Black colleges, especially in those with research and science orientations.

(6) To strengthen the health curricula at the present Black colleges.

(7) To insist that affirmative action becomes a reality in the health professions as well as health schools.

(8) To do more research. All Black service personnel can do research and document inequalities in health services so that legal challenges can be made.

The author is optimistic about the future. Yes, there are differentials in the health status between Blacks and Whites. We must examine these facts and data which can be used as a spur to develop strategies for improving the health status of Black people in this country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Congress of the United States, Health Differentials Between White and Non-White Americans. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Budget Office, 1978.

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